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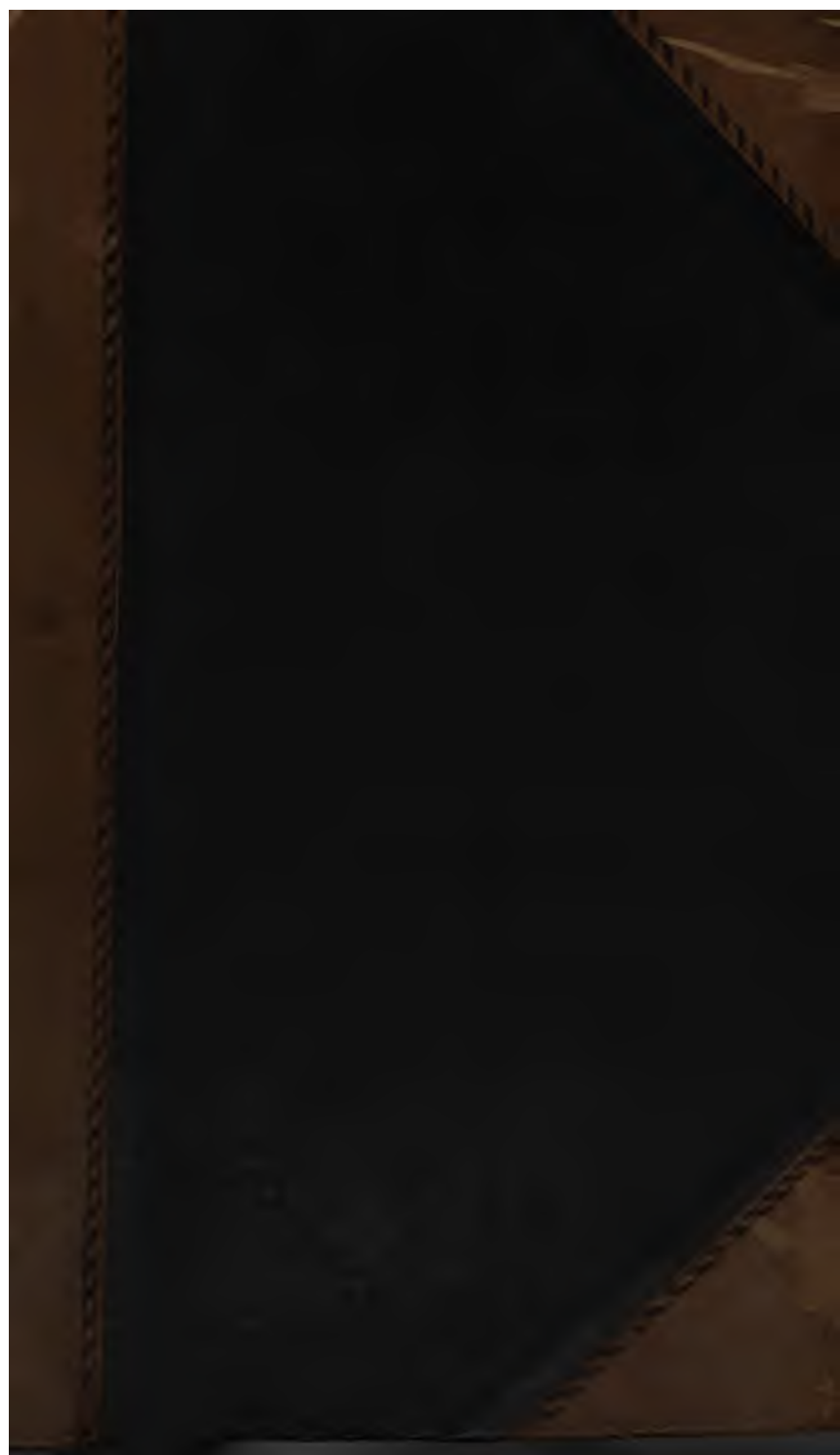
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THE
NATURAL HISTORY OF SOCIETY

IN THE
BARBAROUS AND CIVILIZED STATE



AN ESSAY
TOWARDS DISCOVERING THE ORIGIN AND COURSE OF
HUMAN IMPROVEMENT.

BY
W. COOKE TAYLOR, ESQ. LL.D. M.R.A.S.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

VOL. I.

HOMO SUM: HUMANI NIHIL A ME ALIENUM PUTO.—TERENCE.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMANS.

1840.

761.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY MANNING AND MASON,
IVY-LANE, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

TO
THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
RICHARD,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,
AND
PRIMATE OF IRELAND.

MY LORD,

THIS book is yours ; you suggested, encouraged, and to a great degree directed it, you may therefore claim its patronage as matter of right. Were the case otherwise, I should scarcely have ventured to obtrude my homage, because I should fear my power to control my feelings. To your Grace's friendship I owe incentives to exertion, motives for confidence, and fresh grounds of hope, inexpressibly precious to the labourer in the field of literature, who must pass through many dark and stormy days before he can expect the seed he has sown to produce even a scanty harvest. The language of gratitude, if warm, would savour of adulation, and be rejected by you ; if cold, it would too closely resemble ingratitude to be adopted by me. I

DEDICATION.

lay my work before you therefore with such silent and reverential feelings as best beseems the position of the obliged and the benefactor; but I cannot abstain from uttering my ardent prayer that you may long continue to be the ornament and the hope of our common church, our common country, and our common nature.

I have the honour to be

Your GRACE'S

Grateful and obliged servant,

W. COOKE TAYLOR.

34, *Arlington Street, Camden Town,*
Sept. 25th, 1840.

P R E F A C E.

THIS work was suggested by the Archbishop of Dublin, and it has had throughout the benefit of His Grace's assistance and superintendence. It is necessary that this should be emphatically stated, in order that the Author may escape the imputation of presumption in discussing a subject to which His Grace had already directed his attention in his Lectures on Political Economy. He would not have attempted "to bend the bow of Ulysses," had he not been invited to the task by its legitimate owner, and taught by him how to draw the string and aim the shaft. His Grace, however, is not responsible for more than general directions; he has strong claims on the merits of the work, but all its imperfections rest on the Author's head.

The design of it is to determine, from an examination of the various forms in which society has been found, what was the origin of civilization; and under what circumstances those attributes of humanity which in one country become the foundation of social happiness, are in another perverted to the production of general misery. For this purpose the Author has separately examined the principal elements by which society, under all its aspects, is held together, and traced each to its

source in human nature ; he has then directed attention to the development of these principles, and pointed out the circumstances by which they were perfected on the one hand, or corrupted on the other. Having thus by a rigid analysis shewn what the elements and conditions of civilization are, he has tested the accuracy of his results by applying them to the history of civilization itself, as recorded in the annals of the earliest polished nations, and has thus been led to consider the principal moral causes that have contributed to the growth and to the decline of states. He has in this way applied recorded facts as a test of the accuracy of his reasoning, and if in any part he may have erred, he has supplied the reader with the means of detection.

The descriptions of the usages and customs of savage life have been taken from the travellers, ancient and modern, whose narratives have best stood the test of experience and criticism. Where it was necessary to make a choice, preference has been given to those whose views of the nature and tendency of barbarism differed most from those advocated by the Author. Viewing barbarism as a degradation of our nature, it has been an object to point out the tendencies to corruptions, similar in kind, if not in degree, which exist in civilized life, and to shew how necessary it is that society should always keep in action its two great conservative principles—intelligence and virtue.

In the chapter on the Evidences of Lost Civilization the Author hazarded a conjecture that further investigations of the American continent would strengthen the evidence he had collected, to prove that, previous to its discovery by Columbus, it had possessed a greater

share of the arts and sciences than could be deduced from the present condition of the Indian races, or from the accounts given of them by their early conquerors. Scarcely had the sheet containing this conjecture gone through the press, when it was singularly confirmed by the following announcement in the daily papers :—

“Messrs. Stephens and Gatherwood, of New York, now in Guatemala, have sent home accounts of their latest antiquarian discoveries between Quiriche and Palenque. They have found ancient temples and statues, varying from ten to twenty-six feet high, similar to those in Palenque. Some of the monuments resemble the Phœnician or Carthaginian remains. Thus it will doubtless be proved that America, instead of being a ‘New World,’ is one of a very ancient character.”

Two chapters have been devoted to an examination of the Scriptural Account of the Origin of Civilization ; in these the Author has been anxious that the spirit of reverence should regulate but not check the spirit of investigation and inquiry. He has throughout consulted the records in the original language ; not because he undervalues our authorized version, but because there is a suggestive simplicity in the Hebrew forms of speech which no translation could preserve, but which is of great value in pointing out fresh paths of research, and guiding the way to discovery. He has, however, given only results ; for his object was not to parade learning, but to simplify and condense, for general readers, the information accumulated by the meritorious labours of Biblical scholars and critics.

In the historical investigations connected with the subject, the Author has endeavoured to shew that the

principal delusions which have at different times exercised a pernicious influence over humanity, were founded not on absolute falsehood, but on misconceived truths; and therefore should be viewed, not with anger, but with pity and tenderness for the frailties of our fellow-mortals. He has laboured to deduce from the records of mistaken opinion, lessons of mutual toleration, mutual forbearance, and brotherly kindness, derived from our sharing a common nature; so as in all things to maintain the influence of Christian charity, which "thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth."

The examination of the diversified elements which have contributed to form our modern system of civilization has led the Author over ground already traversed by the most eminent publicists of modern times; they have shewn how opinions embody themselves in forms and institutions, and how these institutions necessarily influence actions. He could scarcely hope to add any thing to the researches of such men as Lieber, Guizot, Jouffroy, and Victor Cousin, but he has endeavoured to condense and unite their several disquisitions, so as to form an outline of the philosophical history of opinions, and their influence on life and action.

Viewing indigence and vice as the great destructive agents in human society, he has deemed it necessary to examine the means adopted by public and private benevolence for their condition, and to test their efficacy by new recorded experience. This may be termed an inquiry into the conservative principles of society—a subject naturally suggested by the history of civilization, but one of too great extent and importance to be fully

discussed in a single chapter. The author has therefore laboured rather to point out what should be the subjects of inquiry than to answer the doubts and solve the difficulties which such a wide and tangled field of investigation must necessarily present.

It would be not only presumptuous, but absurd, to assert that he has executed such a task perfectly and completely; it would be saying in other words, that he had detected all the wrongs and errors of humanity, and had provided their appropriate remedies. He is aware that he has done little more than collect the scattered materials which eminent moralists and philanthropists have produced, and formed them into a kind of map, which may be both a convenient record of what has been already accomplished, and perhaps a guide to future discovery. To use the illustration of an American poet, he has been anxious to leave "foot-prints on the sands of time"—

Foot-prints, that perhaps another
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.

In the discussion of such a variety of topics as necessarily enter into the complicated histories of barbarism and civilization, many of which have been the themes of bitter dispute and angry controversy, the Author, without at all compromising his own opinions, has been anxious to avoid saying anything which could reasonably offend persons of any creed, sect, or party. In one instance he regrets to find that he has violated the rule; he has spoken of the Socialists and their plans with more flippancy than he could wish, not because he has

changed his opinion respecting the folly or the mischief of their schemes, but because he deems that every proposal purporting to be designed for the benefit of humanity should be heard with respectful attention, and answered in terms of kindness and courtesy.

The Author has gratefully to acknowledge his very extensive obligations to the Archbishop of Dublin, and to his distinguished Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Dickenson. Many other friends have supplied him with valuable hints and information—for all to whom he communicated his design evinced a sincere interest in its completion. He feels deeply grateful for their kindness, and trusts that the work to which they have contributed will not prove unworthy their assistance.

He has made it a point of conscience to acknowledge so far as was in his power his obligations to the various authors of whose labours and researches he has availed himself, particularly American and Continental writers whose works are not known in this country. But in this respect he fears that he may have committed involuntary injustice; memory is often treacherous in an unsuspected way, it lays hold on some beautiful idea, sentiment or expression, and imprints it so indelibly, that the mind mistakes it for its own, and claims as its original invention the merits that should be ascribed to others. Conscious of such a failing, the author humbly apologizes to those whose thoughts he may appear to have stolen, and assures them that wherever and whenever the offence is pointed out, it shall be confessed, and the obligation acknowledged.

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NATURAL HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN we attempt to take a comprehensive survey of the actual condition of humanity, our attention is not less forcibly arrested by the moral than by the physical differences which offer themselves to our view. One race is in a state of continuous and progressive improvement: it has exchanged rude paths for smooth roads, it is again changing these for railroads; every day of its existence produces some new discovery tending to increase the comforts and conveniences of life; intellectual advancement seems to keep pace with material improvements; problems which in a past generation were the pride of philosophers, are now familiar as household words in the mouth of school-boys; to want an amount of knowledge, the possession of which would once be esteemed a glory, is now regarded as a disgrace. In fact, a progressive advance is manifest, to which imagination can scarcely assign limits.

A second race appears to have set bounds to itself; the evidences of former progress are abundant, but no traces of a tendency to further and future improvement can be discovered. Every thing in the physical and moral condition of society seems to have assumed

a stereotype character,—from the model of the meanest domestic utensil to the highest social institution, there is a permanent uniformity. Such, for instance, is the great empire of China, where thought and action are equally forced to accommodate themselves to an unchanging system devised in remote ages.

Passing over many intervening varieties, we arrive at a race which appears little raised above the brute creation; it has few evidences of having ever made progress, and none either of the power or will to advance itself beyond its present condition. There is neither memory of the past, nor foresight of the future: such is the stationary aspect of barbarism, as it is presented to our notice by the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia.

We usually describe these differences as indicating a higher or lower degree in the scale of civilization, and sometimes as the result of different systems of civilization. In either case we speak of civilization as a fact which may not only be understood, but applied as a test, whilst we cannot at the same time fail to recognise that it is a fact exceedingly complex, diverse in its aspects, developing itself sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, and thus hiding the central principle of its unity, which few can see though all can feel. Moral science does not admit of the same precise and rigorous definitions, as those which are connected with matter and its forms; the facts which its terms express, are not invariable existences; they have arisen from varying circumstances; by these circumstances they have been modified and enlarged; our ideas of them are constantly progressive, receiving fresh

accessions from every day's experience. To comprehend the term civilization, we must have recourse to the history of the fact civilization, and see what are the ideas which, by a kind of universal consent, men have agreed to combine in the word.

It has been said, that on some estates in the West Indies the negroes were better treated by their masters than independent labourers in Europe by their employers; that every care was taken to supply their physical wants, that they were protected in all their domestic relations, and that all the rules of justice were strictly enforced. Yet even such a condition of slavery was universally declared adverse to civilization: though oppression was absent, still there was compression,—a direct restraint on the moral and intellectual development of existence.

Among the Hindoos, provision was made for moral and intellectual culture; the wants of the mind were to a certain extent supplied like those of the body: but it was an established rule, that man should not labour to procure this moral food for himself, but should receive it from the Brahmin as the negro did physical sustenance from his master. The common sense of mankind has declared Brahminism hostile to civilization, because it produces a stagnancy in the moral life, and fixes limits to the exercise of intellect.

Feudalism—a condition of society with which we are perhaps better acquainted—was not on the whole unfavourable to individual progress, for it nurtured a spirit of independence and enterprise; but it exercised a blighting influence on the internal economy of society. Of individual and social progress it may justly be said,

“utumque per se indigenus, alterum alterius auxilio eget;” now feudalism loosened the bands by which society is held together, it tended to produce universal anarchy, and to prevent the development of those principles which are universally recognised as essential to the well-being of a state. We do not simply mean government—a state is no more a government than a helm is a ship, or a mahout an elephant; a state is an organized society, whether of few or many, and its perfection depends on the security it affords. Under the feudal system, the guilty escaped punishment and the innocent could not find protection. The social state was therefore defective; and the peculiar independence fostered by feudalism, tended not only to perpetuate, but to extend these defects. While the march of the individual was to a certain extent onwards, that of society was retrograde; and had such a state of things continued, Europe must have sunk in barbarism to the level of Africa. It is sufficiently obvious that when the relations between men are not advanced in the same ratio as man himself, all improvement must be isolated, and can leave no trace in a future generation.*

Comparing all these different conditions, we find that they have one common defect—stagnancy: they tend to keep every thing in one fixed position, to check advance and improvement; and hence we may fairly conclude that the primary element of civilization, according to the common sense of mankind, is progress,

* Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator, and if time of course alter all things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, where shall be an end?—*Bacon's Essays*.

not from one place to another, but from one condition to another, and always in advance. The idea of progress, development, amelioration, or extension, appears to be the predominant notion (logically speaking, the *genus*) in the definition of civilization; and the most prominent attribute is, that the progress should be made in social life.

It may be objected that this definition would cease to be applicable if perfect civilization were allowed; but we can see no bounds or limits to the advancement of knowledge;

The wide, the unbounded prospect lies before us;
But shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it.

Every advance that has yet been made, shews an equally distant horizon placed beyond us. It is not necessary to discuss the question of the perfectibility of the human species, but should humanity attain perfection, we doubt if civilization would be the proper term to describe its condition. Who has ever dreamed of speaking of the civilization of the kingdom of heaven!

Civilization is progressive, and barbarism stationary; hence many have been led to infer, that the latter is the state of nature, or natural condition of man,—an inference which perhaps may be traced to the vulgar notions of motion and rest; for even philosophers find it difficult to divest themselves of the habit of regarding the *vis inertiae* of matter as more naturally displayed in rest than in motion.

Before investigating the question whether civilization or barbarism be the more natural, we should inquire, what is the true state of nature of any person or thing?

A simple instance will suffice to shew that this is not so easy a matter as is generally imagined. Pine trees are found on the high Alps near the confines of perpetual snow; but they are stunted in their growth, they scarce put forth any branches, and their leaves are not fully developed. Pine trees are also found in too luxuriant soils, which give them a precocious exuberance, leading to a deranged organism and early decay. In either case, can the trees be said to be in their natural state? Assuredly not; we know that there are fundamental laws of the life and being of the tree, and that the state most natural to it is that in which it fulfils most completely the end and object for which it is made, according to its organization and the principles of its vitality. Man, in a state of nature, must therefore be man in the state for which nature has fitted him. Is there a definite mould and form to which his faculties are irrevocably predestined and predetermined? then nature has designed him to remain stationary, and the natural man is the savage. On the other hand, are his faculties expansive, his capacities progressive, and his moral endowments susceptible of cultivation?—If so, nature has organized him for progress; civilization is the natural state, and barbarism the artificial.

The erroneous belief that the savage form of life was the natural state, led to the general belief that it was the original condition of man: a belief which branched into two distinct theories, the first describing the solitary and savage life as miserable and wretched, the second asserting that it was a golden age of innocence, virtue, and happiness. The first theory is thus stated by Horace,—

When the first mortals crawling rose to birth,
Speechless and wretched from their mother earth,
For caves and acorns, then the food of life,
With nails and fists they held a bloodless strife;
But soon improved, with clubs they bolder fought,
And various arms which sad experience wrought,
Till words to fix the wandering sense were found,
And names impress'd a meaning upon sound.

This theory has been much extended by a modern school of zoologists, at the head of which stands Lamarck: he asserts that the ape was the original type of humanity, and that the varieties of the species are determined by their greater or less departure from the original stock; he even goes farther, and asserts that the existing mammalia were gradually developed from marine types, shewing, as one of his reviewers has quaintly observed, that the exclamation, "O, ye gods and little fishes!" is a phrase pregnant with meaning; and that the origin of mankind, like his own theory, is "mighty like a whale." Without entering into any investigation of the physiological difficulties of this theory, it will be sufficient to say that none of these animals have ever been taken in the state of transition; no one has yet discovered a talking race of monkeys, or a mute race of men. The exaggerated accounts given of the intelligence displayed by the chimpanzee and the ourang-outang, have been sufficiently exploded by the exhibition of these animals in the Zoological Gardens; there was no difficulty in discovering the limits within which their faculties ranged, and it was manifest that many other animals, such as the dog and elephant, possessed a more extended scale of intelligence. The erect posture was manifestly painful to

these animals, more so perhaps than to other species of the monkey tribe; and it was adopted not for the purpose of walking but climbing, as it is by the bear and other animals. A theory contradicted by all existing facts, supported by no past experience, and resting only on doubtful analogies, may safely be dismissed without further examination.

The golden dream of savage innocence and original happiness can be traced to equally erroneous views. Men saw on the one hand the perfect laws of nature, and on the other the imperfect institutions of society; they also saw mankind producing enervation, degeneracy and moral evil, by the adoption of customs obviously contrary to nature, and thence they concluded that all evil arose from abandoning or counteracting nature. In the age of Louis XV, when the body was disfigured by the most cumbrous and unsuitable dresses, corresponding to shorn trees, denaturalized parks, clipped hedges and formal gardens,—when profligacy was deemed a suitable distinction of rank, and prostitution elevated to an order of the state,—it is not wonderful that Rousseau, like Juvenal in a similar age, should turn from the depravity of his own times to a fancied age of primeval innocence. It is, however, surprising that he did not discover the obvious fallacies in his very first statements.

“All is good,” says the author of *Emile*, “as it came out of the hands of the Creator: every thing degenerates in the hands of man. He forces one land to nourish the productions of another, one tree to bear the fruits of another; he mixes and confounds the climates, the elements, the seasons; he mutilates his

dog, his horse, his slave ; he overturns every thing, disfigures all ; he loves deformity, monsters ; he wishes nothing to be such as nature made it, not even man ; he must be drilled like a horse in the riding-school ; he must be tortured according to fashion, like the tree of his garden." Rousseau appears not to have known, or else to have forgotten, how much the beauty and fertility of the material world depend upon the industry and operations of man. Our eyes, accustomed to survey land on which ingenuity and labour have been exerted for centuries, do not easily distinguish between that which is actually produced by nature and that which is the result of continued art. When we look at the velvet lawn, the green sward of the pasturage, or the rich grass of the meadow, we too readily give nature credit for a soil whose fertility has been increased a hundred-fold by the continuous care of successive generations. Where, but on cultivated ground, do we see the wheat heavy with its bending ear, or any *Cerealia* affording abundant food ? Does any virgin soil afford trees bearing such fruit as bends the boughs in our orchards ;—what wild vine has rivalled the grapes in our vineyards ? Looking merely to beauty,—has nature produced the lovely varieties of roses, or the colours of dahlias ? Is it quite certain that much of the beauty of the field has not been indirectly derived from the garden ?

Look again to the animal creation : where is the type of our present race of sheep, and even of our domestic fowl ? Is the wild horse a finer animal than the racer at Newmarket, or the hunter at Melton-Mowbray ? Has the wild canary bird the plumage or the notes of that which is bred in an artificial state ?

Man has triumphed over the defects and disadvantages of climate; and if any one believes the conquest an evil, let him discard his bread and meat for one month, and support himself on mast and acorns.

It would be very difficult to determine what Rousseau and such philosophers mean by their state of nature. "Does man," says Lieber, "live in it only for a moment after his creation? or does the tattooed savage who beautifies, as he supposes, the body of his child with a variety of artificial and tormenting punctures, live still in a state of nature?" Assuredly the South-sea islander, with his paint, his punctures, his feather, and his fish bones, is just as much disfigured as the old French courtier with his periwig and powder, his cuffs and his ruffles. What test shall be applied, to determine which is the natural and which the artificial?

The only reason for believing that barbarism was the original condition of mankind, is the supposition that it was the natural state, which we have shewn to be utterly groundless. It is then asked, whence arise all those differences in civilization discovered by travellers? and many philosophers ascribe them to specific differences in the human race. Capacity of civilization is declared to depend on organization; and the organic differences between the several races of men are declared to be sufficient to constitute them distinct species. This is a subject too important to be summarily passed over, but at the same time it could not be fully discussed without entering more deeply into philosophical researches than would be consistent with the character and design of this work. A selection of the most important facts necessary to the formation of an opinion,

will perhaps be sufficient to justify us for treating all the varieties of the human race as belonging only to one species.

Dr. Lord's admirable work on physiology, one of the best popular treatises on science that has ever been published, has shewn that the varieties of form, colour, and organization in the different races of men are not greater, nor indeed so great as those which occur in the lower orders of creation within the limits of the same species. The term of duration, and nearly all the periodical changes of life, vary but slightly in all races of men.* All human contagious and epidemic diseases are capable of exerting their pernicious influence on all the tribes of men, though some suffer more than others. Dissection exhibits more unity of type in the most discrepant varieties of man than is to be found in the unquestionable varieties of species among the lower animals. It is therefore contrary to anatomy, physiology, and analogy, to consider the existing varieties of the human kind as different species.

All are aware of the fact, that changes are wrought in the form, colour, and constitution of organized bodies by culture, food, and alterations in the mode of life. This is particularly the case with fruits, flowers, and vegetables; the potatoe, for instance, is now a very different plant from that which Sir Walter Raleigh brought from South America. Similar changes, from like causes, take place in animals, but the process is slower: "animals," says Boerhaave, "have their roots

* *Fœminis omnibus communis videtur fluxus menstruus; ita ut recte Plinium mulierem solum animal menstruale vocasse putem.*—
BLUMENBACH.

within their bodies," and consequently the changing cause is generally nutrition. It may also be remarked that the higher the organization the more difficult is the development of a peculiarity, and also the more permanent is the peculiarity when formed. The variegated holly will return to the common green holly when propagated by seed, and can only be preserved as a variety by grafting; but very little care is requisite to perpetuate a peculiar breed of swine or sheep.

Mankind is not exempt from such influences: want of light and air, act very injuriously on the race: it was found that an immense proportion of monstrous births occurred in France among those who had taken some deserted quarries for their residence, and in consequence the caverns were destroyed by order of the government. Cretins are produced in some parts of Switzerland, from the operation, probably, of some atmospheric peculiarity; and Albinos are so frequently produced in the isthmus of Darien, that some travellers regarded them as a distinct tribe.

Dr. Lord has minutely examined the modes in which peculiarities may be produced and propagated: it will be sufficient for us to shew the fact of their being perpetuated. Frederick I. of Prussia collected tall men from all parts of the globe to form a regiment of gigantic guards at Potsdam, and Dr. Forster assures us that the greater part of the present inhabitants of the town and its vicinity are remarkable for their extraordinary height. Major Henry Bevan declares that he could distinguish the several castes in India by their respective peculiarities of countenance. We are all familiar with the marked traits that characterize

the physiognomy of the Jews and Parsees; and finally, the thick lip first introduced into the house of Hapsburgh by intermarriage with the Jagellons, has been hereditary in the reigning family of Austria for centuries.

We can trace very marked peculiarities in men unquestionably descended from the same stock. In America, how different is the tall, lank, gaunt Virginian from the squat, plump, round-faced New Englander. The children of the settlers in New South Wales are tall, thin, and weaker than the European average; they are therefore regarded by Europeans as a depreciated race, and nick-named Currency, while the Europeans proudly call themselves Sterling. The Currency lads and lasses are distinguishable at a glance, and in the course of time no doubt their peculiarities will be as strongly marked as those of the Virginian or New Englander.

Constitutional peculiarities are well known to be hereditary in families; but it is of importance to observe that the peculiarities thus propagated are congenital and not accidental. No one expects to see a child born with a glass eye or a wooden leg, because the parent has been forced to use such substitutes; and it would be equally absurd to expect that children would be deficient in limbs because the parent was maimed: but tendencies to gout, consumption, insanity, affections of the stomach or liver, unquestionably descend by inheritance. There is family disease as well as family likeness; "a nose," as Washington Irving pleasantly observes, "repeats itself through a whole long gallery of family pictures;" and "ditto repeated,"

says Sir Astley Cooper, "is no uncommon entry in the ledger of the family apothecary."

In the Philosophical Translations for 1813, Colonel Humphreys has given the facts connected with the origin of a new variety or breed of sheep, which throw some light on this curious subject. In the year 1791, one of the ewes on the farm of Seth Wright, in the state of Massachusetts, produced a male lamb, which, from the singular length of its body and shortness of its limbs, received the name of *Otter* breed. From the curvature of its fore-legs, which caused them to appear like elbows when the animal was walking, Dr. Shuttack termed it Ancon.

This physical conformation incapacitating the animal from leaping fences, appeared to the neighbouring farmers so desirable that they wished it continued. Wright determined on breeding from this ram, and the first year obtained only two, with the same peculiarities. The following years he obtained greater numbers, and when they became capable of breeding with one another, a new and strongly-marked variety, before unknown to the world, was established.

The perpetuation of this variety of sheep appears a sufficient answer to those physiologists who deny the unity of the human species because there are differences between the skeleton of the Negro and that of the Caucasian; but we have instances of more marked varieties being propagated. The Dorking breed of fowls have five toes each, the Hungarian hogs do not divide the hoof, and families are known in which most of the individuals are born with six fingers. The anatomical differences between the Negro and Cau-

casian are at the best very minute, indeed they can only be discovered by a practised anatomist; but they would disappear altogether if, instead of taking the most marked extremes of the type, the comparison were made between the intermediate and approximating varieties. Anomalies, produced accidentally, may be perpetuated artificially, and circumstances may produce the artificial state no less efficiently than design.

Such a result could hardly be produced arbitrarily in the human race, but it might be brought about by the force of circumstances. Dr. Pritchard has shewn that there is in all animals a tendency to the repetition of a variety which has once occurred;* "thus there are generally more albinos than one in the same family." Among the animals which exhibit varieties perfectly analogous to those of the human albinos, this tendency is very remarkable, particularly, with pets, such as cats, rabbits, and guinea-pigs.

Dr. Lord adds, "were a family in which any of these peculiarities had a tendency to occur, isolated from the general stock, so as to necessitate frequent inter-marriage of its members, their peculiarities would be repeated, propagated, and in a few generations rendered permanent. [The female members of the noble family of Gordon have long been distinguished by a peculiar and beautiful formation of the neck and shoulder.] But this isolation could only take place when the world was thinly inhabited, and a wide space intervened between family and family. Any pecu-

* Dr. Lord observes, "The existence of this tendency was strongly exemplified in the mare, which having once conceived by a quagga, had afterwards no less than three or four foals, begotten by different horses, yet all exhibiting more or less of the quagga form."

liarity occurring now-a-days speedily merges by intermixture, and returns to the common standard."

Medical statistics enable us to go farther, and shew that intermarriages of consanguinity have a tendency not only to perpetuate, but also to produce peculiarities ; it is found that the greater number of children born with some natural deficiency, idiotic, blind, deaf and dumb, etc., are the issue of marriages between near relatives. Now, one of the commonest causes of monstrosity, as laid down by Halle, and since illustrated by Meckel, is what Doctor Lord calls "arrest of development;" that is, "the cessation of growth in any particular organ, while the rest advance towards their usual standard."

The Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Negro, are the three primary or best marked varieties of the human species, and the difference appears strongest in the size and shape of the brain and its integument, the cranium. Let us now examine Dr. Lord's history of the brain, in his work on Popular Physiology. "The brain of man excels that of any other animal in complexity of organization and fulness of development. But this is only attained by slow and gradual steps. Examined at the earliest period that it is cognizable to the senses, it appears a simple fold of nervous matter, with difficulty distinguishable into three parts, while a little tail-like prolongation towards the hinder part is the only representation of a spinal marrow. Now, in this state it perfectly resembles the brain of an adult fish, thus assuming *in transitu* the form that in the fish is permanent. In a short time, however, the structure is become more complex, the parts more

distinct, the spinal marrow better marked—it is now the brain of a reptile. The change continues: by a singular motion certain parts (*corpora quadrigemina*) which had hitherto appeared on the upper surface, now pass towards the lower; the former is their permanent situation in fishes and reptiles, the latter in birds and mammalia. This is another advance in the scale, but more remains yet to be done. The complication of the organ increases—cavities termed *ventricles* are formed, which do not exist in fishes, reptiles, or birds; curiously organized parts, such as the *corpora striata* are added,—it is now the brain of the mammalia. Its last and final change seems alone wanting, that which shall render it the brain of MAN.”

“But we have not yet done with the human brain. M. Serres has made the still more singular observation, that in the advance toward the perfect brain of the Caucasian, or highest variety of the human species, this organ not only goes through the animal transmigrations we have mentioned; but successively represents the characters with which it is found in the Negro, Malay, American, and Mongolian nations. Nay further, the face partakes in these alterations. One of the earliest points in which ossification commences, is in the lower jaw. This bone is consequently sooner completed than the other bones of the head, and acquires a predominance, which, as is well known, it never loses in the Negro. During the soft pliant state of the bones of the skull, the oblong form which they naturally assume, approaches nearly the permanent shape of the American. At birth, the flattened face and broad smooth forehead of the infant, the position of the eyes

rather towards the side of the head, and the widened space between, represent the Mongolian form; while it is only as the child advances towards maturity that the oval face, the arched forehead, and the marked features of the true Caucasian become perfectly developed.

Arrest of development might take place—that is, the brain might cease to grow—from accidental pressure, from an impediment to the vessels carrying it nutrition, or from many other causes. If this arrest took place during any of the later phases we have described, man would be born with either the Negro or Mongolian cerebral formation. There is a tendency to produce such peculiarities in marriages of consanguinity, and there is no doubt that they would be perpetuated by family intermarriages.

“To the want of renovation,” says Dr. Hancock, “I conceive we may chiefly attribute the barbarism which for unnumbered ages has reigned in Africa, and probably in the South-sea Islands, and amongst the aboriginal tribes of North America, and a jealousy of strangers has kept the Chinese stationary for many hundreds of years. The Arowahs and other American tribes roam at liberty through their native forests and savannahs, but, as it were by one universal magic spell or enchantment, they all kept most strictly to their respective tribes, and by such isolation, through a succession of ages, they have dwindled into pigmies, compared with those whose races are renovated and refreshed by inosculation, or grafting of other varieties.”

The American and Negro types disappear by intermixture with the Caucasian. In the time of Herodotus, the Colchians had the black skin and curled hair of the

Negroes, peculiarities which have been lost by inter-marriages; and it is established beyond a doubt, that the taint of Negro or Indian blood is gradually effaced in American families. A similar wearing away of the Negro type may be observed among the descendants of black servants who have married. We have had an opportunity of observing the continuous process through three generations, and can aver that not a trace of the Negro peculiarities could be found in the great-grand-child of the African.

These considerations are sufficient to justify us in asserting the unity of the human species: though we cannot tell when and how varieties have arisen, we can see the possibility of their having originated, and being perpetuated, when men were few and families widely separated from each other. We can also see a cause for the non-appearance of new and strongly-marked varieties after population became more dense, because, as we have shewn, peculiarities are effaced by intermixture. It is not necessary to carry the inquiry further: the law of variation in human development, is still regarded as an open question by physiologists, and no one has yet ventured to assign its limits; but the existence of a very extensive variation has been established beyond the possibility of doubt, and is confirmed every day by facts within the range of ordinary experience.

It follows then that the capacity of becoming civilized belongs to the whole human race—that civilization is natural to man—that barbarism is not “a state of nature,” and that there is no *primâ facie* evidence for assuming it to be the original condition of man.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTERISTICS AND TENDENCIES OF BARBARISM
AND CIVILIZATION.

INTIMATELY connected with the fallacy that barbarism is the natural state of man, is the equally erroneous belief that such a condition is one of purity, virtue, and happiness. Civilization has been described as a progress; but in the opinion of some, the direction of this progress is towards physical and moral degradation. This is an inquiry which spreads over a very wide field, and to conduct it with accuracy, we must lay aside systems, and confine ourselves exclusively to facts. Is the physical condition of the savage superior to that of the civilized man? Let us apply the ordinary tests. In the islands of the Pacific Ocean, where quadrupeds are few, and where the earth yields her productions almost spontaneously, the constitution of the natives, neither strengthened by labour nor invigorated by the chase, has been always found feeble and languid. The dynamometer, an instrument with a graduated scale for measuring muscular force, has been applied as a test, and the sailors of British ships are able to carry the index some degrees farther than any of the various tribes of the South-sea islanders on whom the experiment has been tried. The tribes on the continent that supported themselves by hunting, acquired greater

firmness of body, but yet they were more remarkable for agility than strength. They were for the most part incapable of continuous labour: during the Canadian wars, the Indian allies of Europeans, though formidable in any single and rapid expedition, were unable to endure the fatigues of a campaign. Indeed, the triumph of the white men over the red men in America, is owing more to perseverance and continuous exertion than to superiority in intelligence or military weapons.

Another test of the physical constitution, is the capability of enduring varieties of climate. Although in some cases the North American Indian can journey longer with his heavy burthens across the portages than a white man, he assuredly would not stand the fatigues of an Egyptian or Russian campaign. Far the greater number of the savages who have been at various times removed from their homes to a different climate for the purpose of gratifying the cupidity of curiosity, have sunk by premature decay, in spite of all the care bestowed on their preservation.

Longevity is however the best test of the physical constitution of man; and that the duration of human life has been increased by advancing civilization, is abundantly proved by all bills of mortality. We have no means of determining the average duration of life in countries wholly uncivilized, but in Europe it has been indisputably established that longevity has increased with the gradual improvement of society.

It is generally remarked that the senses of savages are peculiarly acute; not only the romances of Cooper, but the grave statements of intelligent travellers, assure us, that the North American Indians will track game,

pursue an enemy, discover the traces of a stranger, and find their way through the woods by minute observations which escape the notice of Europeans. Every person who has read the *Last of the Mohicans*, which, though a fiction, is distinctly stated to embody only authentic facts respecting the manners and customs of the Indians, must have been delighted with the description of the quickness of observation and certainty of inference displayed by the Indians in following a trail. But with the savage, this capacity is limited in its objects; it is a faculty purely mechanical, and in its greatest extent is far surpassed by the development of the senses which we daily witness in civilized life, among mechanicians of every kind, and particularly among the cultivators of the fine arts. The acute intelligence of the savage is only applied to the pursuit of prey or the discovery of an enemy; with the civilized man it has an universality of application. There are many instances of the same cultivated quickness of perception being displayed in finding coveys of partridge, detecting the beauties or defects of a statue or picture, and discovering the symptoms of latent disease. With the civilized man the acquisition of such a power in one direction, facilitates its exercise in another; with the savage, superior skill as a hunter or warrior disqualifies the possessor for every thing else.

Many circumstances contribute to lead voyagers and travellers into mistaken notions of the physical condition of savages. They see only the best specimens of the race. From the very nature of a barbarous state, it requires great original strength of constitution to survive the stages of helpless infancy. When chil-

dren, born with any original taint or weakness, are not immediately destroyed by their parents, they are sure to sink under severity and privation. We have reason to believe that the population of America was not progressive when first it was discovered by Europeans; but there is positive evidence that several of the Indian tribes have not kept up their number, even in localities where they were not exposed to the intrusion of the whites. Among the hunting tribes the care of the children devolves entirely on the women, and is universally regarded as a grievous addition to their domestic toils. Many of them procure frequent abortions by the use of certain herbs, and extinguish the first sparks of that life which they are unable to cherish. All are more or less incapacitated, by other pressing and toilsome avocations, from bestowing that maternal solicitude on helpless childhood which is necessary to counteract any original frailty. As none but the most healthy arrive at maturity, there can consequently be very little variety in the average appearance of savage nations. Hence travellers are always struck by the uniformity of the external figure in these rude tribes, and are led to regard this uniformity as symmetry and perfection.

It appears then that the average physical condition of barbarous tribes is inferior to that of civilized nations, and that even this average is attained by a lamentable waste of life in its earliest ages. Those who imagined that the children of savages were all born healthy and sound because the parents were not exhausted by the severe labours of civilized life, can have very imperfect knowledge of the toils and privations entailed by barbarism. And those who ascribe the uniformity or

symmetry of the savage form, to the absence of artificial restraints on the development of the body in its earlier stages, have not taken into account the multitudes who necessarily perish in so harsh a course of training.

Another source of error, is the absence of indigence and disease in savage tribes. But a brief examination will shew that this absence is more apparent than real, and that in this case also uniformity has been mistaken for perfection.

It is generally agreed, that indigence consists in the want of some things absolutely necessary to existence. Such a state cannot exist in barbarous life ; the savage either lives or dies ; he is never precisely rich or poor ; whilst the means of subsistence are afforded, he exists from hand to mouth ; when they fail, there is no one from whom he can beg or borrow, and few whom he can plunder. With him, destitution is death. It is true that he can support hunger, thirst, pain, to a degree which we cannot approach ; that he will feed on substances from which we shrink with horror. But there are limits to his powers of endurance—when these are passed, he sinks unnoticed and unknown ; there is no one to record that a unit has been subtracted from the amount of human existence. The uniformity which travellers and voyagers have discovered in savage life, is a condition but one degree higher than absolute starvation. Those who sink below it, disappear instantaneously, and are as if they never had been.

For a similar reason, severe diseases are rarely seen by the casual visitors of savage tribes. Death is their doctor, and the grave their hospital. Those who have resided amongst them testify that diseases are produced

by the privations endured at one period, and the repletion in which they indulge when a time of plenty arrives. But unless the cure is rapid, the termination of the disease must be fatal. When patients are left entirely to nature, it is found that nature presses very hard for an immediate payment of her debt.

As there are different degrees of barbarism, it is not easy to give a precise description of the intellectual condition of savage life. The native of Van Diemen's Land seems little, if at all, elevated above the brute; the New Zealander displays some share of ingenuity; in the Moluccan Archipelago, the inhabitants of islands within sight of each other, are found to exhibit the greatest diversity in mental power; and the red men of North America were far superior to their brethren of the south. There are, however, some tests of general application, the most obvious of which is the display of Providence in making some provision for the future. All travellers have noticed the improvidence of savage life: some will sell for mere trifles the fishing and hunting implements necessary to their support, others refuse to exchange their rude weapons for those of European manufacture, even when the superiority was obvious. No price could tempt the Carib to sell his bed in the evening, when he was disposed to go to rest; but in the morning it might be had for the merest toy that caught his fancy. The strong huts necessary for protection in winter are seldom erected until the cold season is considerably advanced. It is rare to find provisions stored against the chances of scarcity or even the certainties of changing seasons. Like a mere animal, the savage is affected

merely by what is before his eyes; every thing beyond escapes his observation or is perfectly indifferent to him. Consequences ever so slightly removed from immediate apprehension are entirely disregarded. Food, clothing, residence—wants which all mankind feel to be the most pressing, are neglected in a barbarous state of society, until the necessity is so urgent as to threaten extinction.

The inferiority of uncivilized nations is very obvious in their adaptation of means to an end. It has been customary to admire the ingenuity of their contrivances, and to wonder at the perfection of the workmanship executed by such rude tools as they possess: some of the specimens are no doubt surprising, but what is still more wondrous, is the failure of the workman to discover obvious deficiencies in his tools, and the increased efficiency they would obtain from very slight alterations. The mechanical powers are rarely exercised; and when some of the more simple are brought into play, there is a waste of time and strength which might have been saved by a very little attention. Thus those tribes who pass beyond the improvident instinct of animals, continue to display the thoughtless levity of children.

The number of languages in any given district is generally in the inverse proportion of the intellectual culture of the inhabitants. Messrs. Spix and Martius collected the vocabularies of sixty different languages in Brazil alone. It is utterly impossible to classify those of Australia; and to add to the complexity, there is reason to believe that unwritten languages are constantly fluctuating. The vocabularies collected by one voyager rarely correspond with those of another; each

lays the blame on the ignorance or carelessness of his predecessor, but there can be no doubt that many of the discrepancies are to be assigned to the unsteadiness of those by whom uncultivated languages are spoken. As language is the instrument of thought, the nature of a language is in some degree a guide to the intellectual condition of those by whom it is spoken. All barbarous languages err both in excess and defect: by a very extravagant use of suffixes and affixes they multiply what may be called synonymns to an almost incredible and very perplexing extent, while the number of objects for which they have names is very limited. Captain Freycinet informs us, that the inhabitants of the Marian or Ladrone islands have different series of numerical names varying according to the objects counted. The following are the series :

English Names.	Days.	Animated Beings.	Inanimate Beings.	Measures of Length.	Fish.
One ..	hatcha ...	maissa ...	hatchiyai...	tak-hatichoun ..	hatitip.
Two ..	hougoua	hagoua ..	houghiyei ..	tak-hougouan ..	asgan.
Three .	toulo	tatto.....	tourghiyei .	tak-touloun	tato.
Four .	fafat.....	fatfat	fatfatai	tak-fatoun	fatfat.
Five ..	lima ...	latima ...	limiyai	tak-liman	latima.
Six ..	gounoum	gounoum	gounmiyai .	tak-gounoum ...	gounoum.
Seven.	fitgoua ...	fiti	fitghiyei	tak-fitgonon	fiti.
Eight.	goualo ...	gonagolo	gouarghiyai	tak-gouarghoun	gouagalo.
Nine .	sigoua ...	sigoua ...	sighiyai	tak-sigouon	sigoua.
Ten ..	manot ...	mannot .	manotai	tak-maontou ...	mannot.

Captain Freycinet adds that these islanders frequently count by pairs, and that they then use the numeration belonging to days, with the addition of the word *asgun*, which signifies "a pair," but ten pairs are called *hioussau*. The numeration of the days is also applied to months and years, but in the latter case, seven is always expressed by *fiti*.

This tendency to multiply names is found in every form of life where attention is fixed on a limited number of objects, and thus the same cause may produce the same effects in the two extremes of barbarism and civilization. In examining the manufactories at Birmingham, we found that the artisans had distinct names for tools, which we at first sight could scarcely distinguish from each other. In the old treatises on hunting, we find a corresponding variety in the words applied to beasts of venery and chase. Thus, the Book of St. Alban's, written in the fifteenth century by the Lady Juliana Barnes, prioress of Sopwell, informs us that in speaking of numbers or flocks we must say a *herd* of deer, a *bevy* of roes, a *sounder* of swine, a *rout* of wolves, a *richess* of martens; a *brace* of bucks, foxes, or hares, and a *couple* of rabbits.

There are also terms for their lodging: a hart is said to *harbour*, a buck *lodges*, a roe *beds*, a hare *seats* or *forms*, a coney *sits*, a fox *kennels*, a marten *trees*, an otter *watches*, a badger *earths*, a boar *couches*. Hence there are also separate terms to express their dislodging; we should say, *unharbour* the hart, *rouse* the buck, *start* the hare, *bolt* the coney, *untree* the marten, *vent* the otter, *dig* the badger, *rear* the boar. There were also appropriate terms for the different parts of the body, the foot-marks, dung, breeding, etc., of the several beasts. These names are more appropriate and picturesque than general terms, and hence a language in its earliest stages is better adapted to descriptive poetry than when it is more extensively cultivated. We shall have occasion to examine language more minutely in a future chapter, and it will perhaps

be sufficient here to say, what the examples we have quoted sufficiently shew, that an abundance of synonyms, or what are usually called synonyms, in a language with a limited vocabulary, is a proof of its intellectual poverty, shewing it to be confined to a narrow range of objects and ideas.

Arithmetic, among savage tribes, is equally limited and cumbrous. Among some of the American Indians there were those who could not reckon further than three, and had no name for numbers beyond it; several could proceed as far as ten, but commonly the utmost limit was twenty. The Australians, where they are not in immediate contact with the British, exhibit similar deficiencies in numeration.

Savage languages are deficient in general terms: they are destitute not only of such abstractions as time, space, substance, but of such generic names as tree, plant, quadruped, bird, fish, etc. This has given rise to endless confusion in the vocabularies of barbarous languages: one traveller, pointing to a particular animal or tree, received the specific, not the generic name; another fell into precisely the same error, but accidentally selected different objects; the names received by each could not be reconciled, and half the labour of collecting the vocabulary was consequently thrown away. Many of the zealous missionaries employed in the conversion of the heathen have formed grammars of several Polynesian, African, and American languages, and, different as are all these tongues, they have one common peculiarity, a cumbrous and clumsy system of construction to disguise the poverty of their several vocabularies.

In the lowest scale of barbarism there is no effort made to record incident, because all the incidents of such a state have a sad uniformity; the history of to-day is that of yesterday, and will be that of to-morrow. But as we have not confined our views to the extremes of barbarism and civilization, we may slightly glance at the deficiencies and inconveniences of the efforts made by barbarous nations to acquire a system of records.

When we survey the history of nations ignorant of letters, we find generally that both in the Old and New Continent men have attempted to paint the objects which strike their imagination—to represent things by a symbol, or rather by putting a part for the whole; to compose pictures by uniting figures, or the parts that represent them, and thus to perpetuate the memory of some remarkable fact. Thus picture-writing is partly direct representation, partly metaphor, and partly metonymy, as we shall see when we come to consider some of the specimens found in uncivilized tribes. This invention appears to have co-existed with other mnemonic methods, such as erecting heaps of stones, gravings figures on rocks, and in one instance making various knots on cord. The Peruvian mode of “dropping a line,” either to one’s friends or to posterity, is not very intelligible, and the traditions attached to heaps of stones are liable to great variations in the course of time.* Picture-

* In the south of Ireland, near Fermoy, is a remarkable cavern, called, in Celtic, *Grian Becht*, which signifies the Sun’s-house, and was probably connected with solar worship. By the corruptions of tradition the name is metamorphosed now into *Granny’s-bed*, and associated with a strange tale of a man who married his grandmother!

writing, on the contrary, is obviously an improvable art; we find it more or less imperfect in proportion to the advancement of the people by which it is cultivated; it passes, by almost insensible degrees, from simple to composite painting, and thence to symbolic, where it displays a tendency to become an alphabetic character. It is almost impossible to make a distinction between symbolic and composite painting, for the one runs naturally into the other, and they are only distinguished by the greater or less abundance of symbolic signs. The rude paintings of the Patagonians, described by Narborough; those found amongst the natives of Norfolk-bay, on the north-west coast of America; and all the paintings, more or less rude, which have been discovered by travellers among the Indians of the New Continent, in a greater or less degree, unite symbolic signs with direct representation. They exhibit great and marked shades of difference: the highest eminence appears to have been attained by the Aztehs or Mexicans, the Zoltedes, and the Ilascalans. Next to these we may rank the *sagkokok* of the natives of Virginia, the historical paintings of the Iroquois, the Hurons, and the numerous tribes inhabiting the central tableland of the Alleghanies.

The *sagkokok* of the Virginian Indians represented symbolically the events which took place in a cycle of sixty years; each cycle was represented by a wheel divided by its radii into sixty equal parts. Lederer relates that in the Indian village of Pommaomek he saw one of these cycles, in which the epoch of the arrival of Europeans on the coast of Virginia was indicated by the figure of a white swan, vomiting forth

fire; thus at once symbolizing their colour, their arrival by water, and the effects which their fire-arms had produced on the Americans. This, however, is a far more comprehensive symbol than any other which we find among the American Indians, and it obviously has the defect of not immediately telling its own story. A clear idea of the historical painting of the Americans may be formed from a pictorial narrative of a warlike expedition, undertaken by some Frenchmen against a tribe of the Iroquois, before Canada was occupied by the English. It is written symbolically in ten lines, figured as follows :—

The first line contains the arms of France, surmounted by a hatchet, and near are eighteen symbols of decades. The hatchet, or tomahawk, being the Indian symbol of war, as the calumet is of peace, this signifies that “a hundred and eighty Frenchmen undertook some warlike expedition.”

The second line contains a mountain, with a bird springing from its summit, and a stag with a moon on its back. The mountain was the cognizance of Montreal, and the bird signifies departure; so that this line reads, “they departed from Montreal in the first quarter of the stag-month, corresponding to our July.”

The third line, a canoe, with twenty-one huts: that is, “they went by water, landing every night to rest, and were twenty-one days on their journey.”

The fourth line, a foot with seven huts or wigwams, intimating “they then marched seven days.”

The fifth line, a hand and three wigwams, over one of which are two pendent branches, and a figure of the sun. This means that “they had come within three days’

march of the Sonontuan tribe of the Iroquois, whose cognizance was two bending branches, and that they were coming on the east of the village," which is shewn by the relative positions of the hand and the cognizance.

The sixth line, twelve symbols of decades, a hut with the same cognizance as before, and a man asleep. "There were one hundred and twenty Sonontuans surprised in their beds."

The seventh line, a club and eleven heads, five figures of men over as many symbols of decades. "Eleven Sonontuans were killed, and fifty taken prisoners."

The eighth line, a bow containing nine heads, with eleven marks beneath. "The victors had nine killed and eleven wounded."

The ninth line, showers of arrows hustling in the air from opposite directions. "The battle was obstinate and well contested."

The tenth line, arrows coming from one side only. "The vanquished fled, without any further attempt at resistance."

The whole story may be told in a few words. "One hundred and eighty Frenchmen set out from Montreal early in July; after sailing twenty-one days and marching seven, they surprised one hundred and twenty Sonontuans on the east side of them; after an obstinate resistance, they killed eleven, captured fifty, and put the rest to flight, with the loss to themselves of nine killed and eleven wounded."

It is obvious that such a record is very clumsy, uncertain, and cumbrous; however we may admire its ingenuity, we must at once see its utter inapplicability

to any great historical work, and still more to any philosophical or imaginative purpose. It appears, then, from the nature of barbarous language, when it is merely spoken, and from the attempts made at recording events in a more advanced stage, that the intellectual condition of the savage is far inferior to that of the civilized man.

Hitherto we have considered the state of savage nations in man as an individual: but such a condition is confessedly unnatural,—all agree that some form of association is necessary to humanity. The first and most simple form is the domestic state. A general state of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes never existed but in the fanciful imaginings of poets, or in the wild speculations of philosophers, who possessed the madness of poetry without the inspiration. Such persons, whose notions of the state of nature appear to have been derived from the brutes, inform us that no permanent unions are formed by the lower animals. The reason is obvious: with them the season of infancy is short; the young soon acquire vigour and agility; the tenderness of the mother, with little, and sometimes with no assistance, is adequate to the care of the brood. But even among animals, we find the union continued so long as it is necessary to the conservation of the young. Few observers of nature have failed so see the male bird sharing the task of incubation; and when the young are clamorous for food,

He hears their cry, he grants their hoarse request,
And stills the clamour of the craving nest.

Even the denizens of cities may have observed the sparrows teaching their young to make the first trial

of their wing, and both parents sharing the task of guiding them to food. Among animals, the length of union between the parents is directly proportioned to the duration of the state of infancy. But the infancy of man is more protracted, feeble, and helpless than that of any other animal; he is dependent for a much longer period on the care and foresight of his parents; their desires and unions do not depend on the extrinsic circumstances of times and seasons. If a state of promiscuous intercourse ever existed, it could not be protracted beyond one generation, for the race would become extinct.

Domestic union being natural and necessary to man, we have next to inquire what are the conditions that render it most advantageous. Judging from all experience, we should say, mutual confidence, and mutual respect based on mutual equality. The relations between master and slave are equally disastrous to both; the blighting effects of bondage are discoverable in the taskmaster as well as in the serf; the experience of America too fatally shews that the social inferiority of the negro is reflected in the moral degradation of the planter. Many of the more dark and severe pictures of the American slave-owners may be exaggerated, but strong features of resemblance still serve to identify the caricature.

The more intimate and close are the relations, the more pernicious is the result of great inequality. Domestic slavery existing as rigidly as predial slavery is a fearful aggravation of the evil. So obvious is this truth, that among all slave-holding communities, we find the lot of the domestic slave rendered less onerous. Horace,

for instance, threatens it as a severe punishment to an insolent slave, that he would be transferred from the house to the farm. But communities have existed, in which the tyranny of the dwelling rivalled, or even surpassed, the tyranny of the field; and in such cases, vice and misery held joint sway to an extent of which it is scarcely possible to form a conception. In the married state of savages some differences may be observed. When provisions are scanty, and the means of procuring subsistence not easily attainable, the man confines himself to one wife. In warmer regions, where food is more abundant, and nutritious vegetables grow spontaneously, several wives are often taken by one husband. The permanence of the tie also varies: in some countries, marriages are deemed permanent; in others divorces are common on the slightest pretext, and often without any assignable cause.

But, however the obligation of the contract is viewed, whether as confined to one or extended to more, whether as permanent or perpetual, the condition of women in barbarous nations is equally humiliating and miserable. Her very first step in life is one of suffering and degradation; she is either stolen, or sold like the beast of the field.

The Hon. Mr. Murray, in his very interesting travels, gives us the following account of the daily labours of an Indian woman among the Pawnees of North America:—
“She rises an hour before daylight, packs up the dried meat, the corn, and other bales, strikes the tent, loads and saddles all the horses and mules, and at dawn the march commences; they generally go from twelve to fifteen miles before their mid-day halt; the

husband rides; some animals are loaded, many run loose; she travels on foot, carrying on her back either a child or a package of a considerable size; in one hand a bundle or can of water, with the other leading one or two packhorses. On arriving at the camping-place, she unpacks the animals and proceeds to pitch the tent or lodge as before described. But, in order to appreciate the extreme labour of this apparently simple operation, it must be borne in mind that she has to force eight or ten poles, sharpened at the point, into ground baked nearly as hard as brick by a vertical sun, they requiring to be driven nearly six inches deep by the mere strength of her arms, as she is not assisted by the use of any iron-pointed instrument, or any mallet. As soon as the tent is pitched and arranged, she goes in search of wood and water; the latter is generally within half a mile of the camping-place selected, but the former, I can positively affirm from my own observation, she frequently has to seek and carry on the back three or four miles. From mingled commiseration and curiosity, I once or twice raised these wood bundles thus brought in, and am afraid to hazard a conjecture as to their weight, but I feel confident that any London porter would charge high for an extra load, if he was desired to carry one of them half-a-mile: she then proceeds to light the fire, cut up the meat, and pound the corn, for which latter purpose she is obliged to use a heavy club, round at the extremity, and a mortar hollowed by herself from the trunk of a walnut tree. As soon as the meal is finished, she has to strike the tent, reload the horses, and the *whole foregoing work has to be repeated*, except that the after-

noon walk is generally not more than eight or nine miles.

“This is the ordinary routine of a travelling day; but on the day of a hunt, and on its successor, her labour varies in kind, not much in degree, as besides bringing wood and water, cooking, etc., she has to cut up all the meat into thin flakes or layers to be dried in the sun; to dress the skins or robes, the mode of doing which I shall have to notice presently; to make the mocassins, leggins, and in short whatever *clothing* is wanted by any part of the family. To perform this incredible labour, there were only three women in our lodge, and I never saw any of the three either grumble or rest a moment, although plagued with the additional care and ceaseless crying of the two before-mentioned brats. Lest it may be supposed, that in the permanent or winter lodge, they enjoy more rest, it is as well to mention, that in addition to their domestic duties, the whole of the agricultural labour, in their coarse system of raising maize, falls to their share.”

A courtship in Australia is a very striking affair. The lover selects for his mistress the maiden of another tribe, and watches her incomings and outgoings with all the pertinacity of affection. At length he tracks her to some retired spot, the solitude of which seems to afford a favourable opportunity for the declaration of his passion; he rushes forward, strikes her to the earth with a club or wooden sword, and continues beating her about the head, until repeated blows have rendered her senseless. After this very impressive and feeling commencement, he drags the victim, streaming with blood, to the haunts of his own tribe, where she is

forced to confess herself vanquished by such strong proofs of love, and to become his wife. The course of the union is quite consistent with the commencement: the wife of the Australian savage is a degraded slave;—to her share fall the meanest and most toilsome functions of subsistence, while life and limb depend on the caprice of her savage master.

Where wives are purchased they are scarcely better off than where they are plundered; they become the absolute property and the slaves of those who buy them. They are not bound to the offices of domestic economy alone, but are compelled to perform every laborious and fatiguing service as beasts of burden. So grievous is the lot of the female among savage tribes, that some women in a wild emotion of female tenderness, have destroyed their daughters in infancy, in order to rescue them from the painful and inevitable bondage to which they were destined. Hence, population is almost always stationary in a savage state; the vigour of the female constitution is easily broken down by toil; the nurture of a numerous progeny is too severe an aggravation of other labours; infanticide becomes almost a necessary evil, and it is practised without the slightest compunction or remorse. This fearful slaughter of innocent children, whether in barbarous or semi-civilized lands, has a strange tendency to perpetuate itself. When once the emotions of parental tenderness are stifled in a mother's bosom, it would seem as if they could be restored by nothing short of a miracle. It is notorious, that the British government has made great efforts to abolish female infanticide among the Rajpoots in India, and that they have

failed more from the resistance of the wives than of the husbands. Mrs. Postans, in her excellent work on Cutch, adds what may well be deemed an aggravation of the horror. The mother commits the murder by rubbing poison on her breast, and the infant drinks the potion of death from the source where nature had planted the streams of life.*

Not less remarkable is the moral degradation of females in other respects: chastity in most savage tribes is little regarded; the early voyagers in the South Seas found the Polynesian islanders utterly regardless of female honour, and the same remark is applicable at the present day to the women of Australia. Cruelty is also too general an attribute of savage females. Though Ledyard and Mungo Park received kind attention at their hands, yet Holden's Narrative of his Adventures in Lord North's Island, declares—"the female portion of the inhabitants outstrip the men in cruelty and savage depravity, so much so that we were frequently indebted to the tender mercies of the men for escapes from death at the hands of the women." In all the accounts of the horrid tortures and mutilations inflicted by the Indians of North America on their unfortunate prisoners, we find the squaws the principal agents in the work of torture, instigating the men both by exhortation and example to increase the bitterness of death by the most bitter insults and agonizing inflictions.

* See "Ellis's Christian Researches" for a description of the great change wrought on maternal feelings by the beneficial influence of Christianity. Nothing can be more affecting than the picture of the converted mothers turning from the assembly to hide their tears for the loss of those children whom they destroyed during their state of heathenism.

It has been questioned whether man has been improved by the progress of arts and civilization in society; but never have philosophers in the wildness of their speculations and the wantonness of their disputations raised a doubt on the advantages that women have derived from every advance in civilized life. Contempt, degradation, harshness, and neglect, are the lot of the female sex among barbarous nations in every part of the globe. These demoralizing influences have produced their necessary effects, in infanticide, infidelity and ferocity. On such a picture it is painful to dwell: it would be easy to add many darker and deeper shades, but the fact of female degradation and demoralization in the barbarous state of society is so well known and universally acknowledged, that the horrors of further illustration may well be spared.

Unequal to the civilized man in his physical powers, far his inferior in intellectual capacity, and still more decidedly in his knowledge and use of the first great element of social happiness, the domestic relations, it is difficult to comprehend how the savage, rather than the brute, became the subject of eulogy with admirers of what they were pleased to call the state of nature. Indeed, the lowest animals would seem to have a better claim to the sensibility of this school of philosophers, for with them there is no decided inequality between the female and the male; but in the savage state of humanity, the comforts of one sex are based on the misery of the other, and to call such a condition a state of nature is to assert that nature was at enmity with one half of the human species. There can be no doubt that the domestic union is a state to which all

are naturally prompted; civilization tends to render that union equal, to form habits of gentleness and tenderness, to raise woman without humbling man. Barbarism establishes a cruel distinction between the sexes; renders the one harsh and unfeeling, consigns the other to servility and subjection. It is conceded on all hands that the union is natural; can it then be doubted which of the two conditions of union are most in accordance with nature?

"There is a place on the earth," says St. Lambert, "where pure joys are unknown, from which politeness is banished, and has given place to selfishness, contradiction, and half-veiled insults. Remorse and inquietude, like fumes that are never weary of assailing, torment the inhabitants. This place is the house of a wedded pair who have no mutual love, nor even esteem.—There is a place on the earth to which vice has no entrance, where the gloomy passions have no empire, where pleasure and innocence live constantly together; where cares and labours are delightful—where every pain is forgotten in reciprocal tenderness—where there is an equal enjoyment of the past, the present, and the future. It is the house, too, of a wedded pair, but who in wedlock are lovers still."

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND TENDENCIES OF
BARBARISM AND CIVILIZATION.

FROM the preceding considerations, it sufficiently appears that barbarism is not the natural state of man,—that it is not the state best suited to the development of his physical or intellectual powers, and that it is not calculated to form, promote, or preserve his moral purity or domestic felicity. It is necessary, however, to carry the investigation farther; and to shew that civilization gives effect to another and not less important principle natural to man, which barbarism tends to weaken, if not to destroy—namely, his sociality. From the fallacies which we have laboured to expose, many able writers have deduced very erroneous views of the origin of society, and ascribed to the free action of ripe judgment and forecast, the formation of all states and communities. Horace, in a passage already quoted, declares that the first men united into societies for the purpose of mutual protection and assistance, and the same opinion has been strenuously maintained by the celebrated economist, M. Say. Such a proceeding would infer a most extraordinary degree of sagacity and foresight, and a vast amount of knowledge antecedent to experience in each and all of the individuals who thus formed a social

compact. But we have seen that the most striking and marked characteristic of the savage is improvidence, and this feature is one of the last that disappears as he ascends in the scale of civilization. How, it may be asked, could these isolated individuals learn the advantages of society? To what miracle or accident are we to ascribe the fact, that these advantages were discovered simultaneously by persons previously unconnected? How were the conditions of the compact framed? Was there a marvellous unanimity in the acceptance of the terms; if not, what became of the dissidents? These are a few, and only a few, of the difficulties which must be removed before we can be persuaded that society was the work of man—an institution adopted with preference, purpose, and after mature reflection.

A very little exertion of thought is necessary to shew that the advantages of society could only have been discovered by experience: destitute of all previous knowledge, the isolated man would more reasonably have expected outrage than protection, injury than assistance, from associating with his fellows. In the very few authentic accounts of perfectly isolated individuals—such as that of Peter the wild boy—we find no trace of anything like a desire for society, and still less anything like the wisdom necessary to the formation of a social compact. Men united because they could not help it; they did not discover the advantages of association, but they found them out after they had been associated. It is probably in this sense that we are to understand the remarkable expression of Aristotle, that “the state existed before the individual;” for man undoubtedly is

led to promote the final ends of society before he distinctly perceives them or knows the advantages that they will bring to himself.

This is far different from the assertion that man is indistinctively a gregarious animal, an error into which Cicero and several of the ancient philosophers have fallen. Sociality is not an attribute of the physical but of the moral constitution of man. Bees congregate now for the purpose of constructing a honeycomb in precisely the same forms and under the same conditions that they ever did; the principle of cohesion in their community is not one whit greater or less than it was when they were first noticed by man; but the social principle in humanity is infinitely developed and extended by every advance in civilization.

Sociality is first manifested in the domestic union, which, as we have already seen, has a tendency to become perpetual in the human species, because conjugal attachment is not, as with other animals, limited to certain seasons. This principle is still further extended and developed in the relations of the family, the ties between parent and child, brother and sister, etc. The practice of infanticide, which we find in almost every barbarous country, necessarily hardens the hearts of parents against the children who are spared. It is true that we find in voyages and travels many examples of outbursts of paternal or maternal tenderness, but these are only momentary ebullitions; there is no permanent or abiding love of offspring, no care or forethought for future welfare of children. In Kolff's Voyage of the Dourga, we find that the Papuans, or natives of New Guinea, will not hesitate to sell their own children into slavery.

"Natives worthy of belief have assured me," says Lieut. Kolff, "that if a Papua of the coast is struck by a desire to obtain any articles brought by the foreign trader, for which he has no productions to give in exchange, he will not hesitate to barter one or two of his children for them; and if his own are not at hand, he will ask the loan of those of his neighbour, promising to give his own in exchange when they come to hand, this request being rarely refused. This appeared to me to be almost incredible, but the most trustworthy natives were unanimous evidence to its truth. The mountaineers themselves sometimes sell their children also. In other places, I have known parents sell their children when their maintenance became too heavy a burthen for them to bear, without heeding whether they would ever see them again. Such a total absence of feeling certainly brings these savage people below the level of dumb animals!"

The slave-dealers of the last century relate countless anecdotes of similar barbarity among the African tribes, and their account is fully confirmed by the missionaries. Father Labat mentions one instance of this worse than brutal disregard of natural ties, which is too curious to be omitted. He tells us that being one day, during the year 1654, in his convent of St. Salvador, a native of Congo came into the church and made such loud and doleful lamentations, that he gathered round him all the inhabitants of the convent. They eagerly inquired what dreadful calamity had befallen him, but so extreme was his affliction that he was long unable to make an answer. After much labour, and many kind attempts at consolation, he at length unfolded the

nature of his grief. He told them that he was reduced to the extreme of misery and despair; he had sold his children, his wives, his only sister, his younger brothers, and finally his father and mother; he was therefore in great distress, because there was not one of his family left whom he could turn into money. The worthy Capuchins were astounded; at first they could not forbear from laughing at so strange a complaint; they then endeavoured to shew him what an unnatural monster he was, and how justly he merited sufferings far more severe than those he endured. He coolly replied that he had done nothing but what had been constantly practised in that country, and there could be no crime in reducing them to that slavish condition to which he himself had run the risk of being reduced by them.

It may be said that this unnatural conduct should be attributed to the blighting influence of slavery and the slave trade rather than to barbarism. Undoubtedly, if there were not purchasers, children and relatives could not be sold as slaves: but it would be going too far to say that the mere demand produced the supply; or, if that were conceded, it would be still evident that those ties must be weak which could be so easily broken at the first appearance of temptation.

But parental love is a subject on which very great and injurious errors are made, not only in relation to savage, but also to civilized life. It is, in its origin, an animal sensation—a blind instinct, which belongs to the insect, the bird, the quadruped, as well as the man; an immutable law of nature, and nothing more. “In beings inferior to man,” says Aimè Martin, “we

see the operation of this instinct associating itself with the passions, doubling their power, and raising them almost to intelligence. The bird forms its nest before it knows that it is about to produce anything of which it must take care; it lines that nest with a delicate down, before it knows the delicacy of its brood; it sits, that is to say, the most restless of beings sits unmoveable, during several weeks, upon a lifeless egg, before it knows that it encloses beings like itself. At length, the young ones being hatched, it brings their food, it drives away their enemies, is anxious for their preservation,—and all these labours, painful or pleasurable, are to remain without a recompense: no filial tenderness will ever respond to this parental tenderness. One day the little ones try their wings,—another they take their flight, and wing their way into the plains of air. The animals have no family—they have none of the true parental affection—they are the servants of nature.”

That this tenderness, so affecting to witness, is purely instinctive, and all but mechanical, appears from the fact that animals will bestow the same attention on a substituted progeny as on their own offspring. The hen is not less fond of ducklings than of chickens; the wild bird, though sometimes sorely perplexed by its ravenous appetite, bestows the same care on the intrusive cuckoo as on her own young: a cat, deprived of its kittens, has been known to bring up a leveret, a rat, and even a chicken. Among rational beings, the extraordinary love shewn by childless persons for pets may probably be referred to the same instinct; for many, whose sensibilities towards favourite animals are

so acute as to become absurd, are far from exhibiting tenderness of heart in the other relations of life. It has passed into a proverb, that the sympathy wasted on a dead ass was refused to a living mother. Whether this imputation on Sterne be true or false, we can ourselves aver that we have seen expensive luxuries wasted on a pampered cat by those who refused the slightest relief to starving relatives.

"A fact, worthy of remark," continues Aimé Martin, "is that maternal (or parental) love only lasts in each animal the time necessary for the preservation of the species; so soon as the little ones have ceased to need their mother, their mother abandons them. In the morning the parent would have waged furious war for those young ones whom in the evening she cannot recognise. And this indifference awakens no regret, leaves no remembrance, enters the mind at the very time when gratitude and habits long formed seem to render it impossible. When we reflect that the order and harmony of the world are maintained by this double law of love and indifference, we are astonished that it does not excite more attention. Let us only imagine what a new order of things the durable affection of animals would introduce upon this globe, what a power added to their exterminating instincts! Let the war-cry be heard, and twenty generations rally round one female,—whole families will be armed, and all these armies will work in the labour of destruction. To prevent this destruction, to establish the balance between life and death, the law of indifference suffices."*

* See "Woman's Mission," chapter viii., for a beautiful application of these principles to the moral training of a family.

Parental love, as distinguished from instinctive impulse, begins where that of the animal terminates. Nature seems to have provided for its gradual formation and development as a moral principle, by protracting the infancy of man to a longer period than that of other animals, and consequently extending the time during which the instinctive impulse acts. To animals the instinct is valuable merely for the preservation of the species; to man it is still more valuable, from its tendency to produce a moral obligation, the most binding principle of sociality, the rational affection between parent and child—that is, an affection for which both can assign a cause.*

It is obvious that time is wanting to form this desirable principle, and that if parental care cease altogether with the stage of helplessness, or nearly so, the moral tie can be but faintly established. Among all barbarous nations, parental care is rarely extended beyond the early stages of childhood. Even in their infancy the children are subjected to no coercion or corrective discipline; which some very unwise reasoners have ascribed to the indulgent and fond disposition of the parents. An indulgent parent is not a fond parent, he is nothing more than a negligent one: children are not spoiled by too much affection, but by the want of affection; true affection will not grudge toil nor trouble; the cruel parent, and the indulgent parent equally want active affection; the blow and the bribe

* Experience has taught us that children, in earlier infancy than is generally imagined, can distinguish between instinctive and moral affection; and that even when the former is the more indulgent, the latter is the more respected, and far the more beloved.

are both base means of avoiding the labour of care, watchfulness, and corrective discipline. The savage does not chide his child; but this forbearance arises not from love, but from that recklessness which shews the weakness or absence of love. He suffers the children to be absolute masters of their own conduct, because he is too lazy to watch and superintend their actions. Such a course of education, we are told, tends to render the children "independent," which is true enough, if the word be taken in the sense given to it by Denzil Holles, "not to be depended upon."

"In an American hut," says Father Charlevoix, "a father, a mother, and their posterity, live together like persons assembled by accident, without seeming to feel the obligation of the duties mutually arising from this connexion." Similar remarks are made respecting the families of the New Zealanders, by the missionaries; in Australia, the bonds of domestic attachment are scarcely known; and throughout the South Sea islands the greatest difficulty which the various missionaries have had to overcome is the habitual and mutual neglect of parents and children from the moment that the latter approached maturity.* Justly then has Dr. Robertson remarked, "the ideas which seem to be natural to man in his savage state, as they result necessarily from his circumstances and condition, affect the two capital relations in domestic life. They render the union between husband and wife unequal. They shorten the duration, and weaken the force of the connexion between parents and children."

* See "Ellis's Polynesian Researches," *passim*.

The fraternal relations are not less weak and uncertain than the parental. Fratricide is just as common as any other species of murder. Theodore Irving, a professed admirer of what he is pleased to call the chivalry of savage life, relates the following anecdote of the Iotan, a chief of the Otoe Indians, and his brother, as an illustration of Indian revenge. "The Otoe Indians having procured several kegs of whiskey, resolved to have a grand carousal, and aware of the fury to which their passions would be stimulated by intoxication, removed all weapons beyond their reach. When the whiskey began to work, a fearful brawl commenced, and in the frenzy of strife the brother bit off a part of the chieftain's nose. The Iotan was sobered in a moment, he paused, looking intently in the fire, without uttering a word; then drawing his blanket over his head, walked out of the building, and hid himself in his own lodge. On the following morning he sought his brother, and told him that he had disfigured him for life: 'to-night,' said he, 'I will go to my lodge and sleep; if I can forgive you when the sun rises you are safe, if not you die.' He kept his word; he slept upon his purpose, but sleep brought no mercy. He sent word to his brother that he had resolved upon his death, that there was no further hope for him; at the same time he besought him to make no resistance, but to meet his fate as a warrior should.

"His brother received the message and fled from the village. An Indian is untiring in his pursuit of revenge, and though years may elapse, yet he will obtain it in the end. From the time that it became the fixed purpose of the Iotan to slay his brother, his assiduity

never slept ; he hunted him for months. He pursued his trail over the prairies ; he followed his track from one thicket to another, he traced him through the friendly villages, but without success ; for although he was untiring his brother was watchful, and kept out of his way. The old warrior then changed his plan of action. He laid in wait for him in the forest, crouching like a tiger, in the paths which he thought he might frequent in hunting, but he was for a long time unsuccessful. At length, one day when seated on a dead tree, he heard the crackling noise of a twig breaking beneath a cautious footstep. He instantly crouched behind the log, and watched the opposite thicket. Presently an Indian emerged from it, and gazed earnestly around. The Iotan recognised his brother instantly. His care-worn face and emaciated form evinced the anxiety and privations that he had suffered. But this was nothing to the Iotan ; as yet his revenge was unsated, and the miserable appearance of his brother touched no chord of his heart. He waited until he was within a few feet of him, then sprang from his lurking-place and met him face to face. His brother was unarmed ; but met his fiery look with calmness, and without flinching.

“ ‘ Ha, ha ! brother,’ cried the Iotan, cocking his rifle, ‘ I have followed you long in vain,—now I have you—you must die.’ ”

“ The other made no reply, but throwing off his blanket, stepped before him, and presented his breast. The Iotan raised his rifle, and shot him through the heart ! ”

Many anecdotes equally revolting might be collected

from the missionary registers, shewing that the ties of relationship and friendship are so feeble as to be snapped in sunder by trivial events, and former amity changed into deadly hatred. We are, however, to consider on the other hand, anecdotes, just as well authenticated, of the strong feelings exhibited by barbarous tribes when they meet their friends or relatives, after a long journey or a distant voyage. As an illustration, we may quote Cruise's description of their reception by their relatives of the nine New Zealanders, who came along with him in the Dromedary from Port Jackson. "When their fathers, brothers, etc., were admitted into the ship," says he, "the scene exceeded description; the muskets were laid aside, and every appearance of joy vanished. It is customary with these extraordinary people, to go through the same ceremony upon meeting and taking leave of their friends. They join their noses together, and remain in this position at least half an hour; during which time, they sob, and howl in the most doleful manner. If there be many friends gathered around the person who has returned, the nearest relation takes possession of his nose, while the others hang upon his arms, shoulders, and legs, and keep perfect tune with the chief mourner (if he may be so called), in the various expressions of his lamentation. This ended, they resume their wonted cheerfulness, and enter into a detail of all that happened during their separation. As there were nine New Zealanders just returned, and more than three times that number to commemorate the event, the howl was quite tremendous, and so novel to almost every one in the ship, that it was with difficulty our people's

attention could be kept to matters at that moment much more essential. Little Repero, who had frequently boasted during the passage that he was too much of an Englishman ever to cry again, made a strong effort when his father Shungie approached him, to keep his word, but his early habit soon got the better of his resolution, and he evinced if possible more distress than any of the others."

We could not call this a scene of affection: if affection be understood in an active sense, it was a mere display of passionate emotion, which began and ended with the feelings. There is no mistake more common, than the confusion between good feelings and good actions; generous sensibility and generous deeds, pious emotions and pious conduct. To excite the passion is easy, for to feel it is pleasant; to change the passion into action is about one of the most difficult things in the world, especially as every repetition of the passion weakens the tendency to action. Sensibility, as the word is generally used, is a mere animal instinct, useless when it does not immediately lead to active benevolence; and in such a case not only useless but pernicious, because it has a tendency to produce a resting satisfied with the emotion and a neglect of the action.

Mr. Cruise does not tell us that this scene of passion led to any interchange of mutual kindness, the passengers from Sidney did not produce any of the novelties they had procured in the British colony to offer to these affectionate relatives, and the welcoming party brought no fresh provisions to comfort those who had grown weary of naval cookery. The whole scene of affection was written in and with water; when it was

over, not a trace of it remained,—all returned to their occupations as usual.

All barbarous nations evince great respect for the dead, and the length of time that their mourning for the deceased lasts has been frequently adduced as a proof of the strength of their natural affection. A recent traveller in Australia gives us the following curious account of the lamentations of the natives over a grave:—

“Nothing can be more pitiable, nothing more striking, than to witness the lamentations of the natives over the dead. They appear terror-stricken by a power they know not of, and cannot account for. At the natural decease of one of their tribe, the men appear bewildered in their imaginations, they shout furiously, and make wild exclamations. By fierce countenances and violent gestures, they seem to defy and threaten the spirit or enemy who had come amongst them, while the women, on the other hand, assembling together, rend the air with their pitiful and lamenting yells.

“The above scene I can only describe as I witnessed it, which struck me as being a most melancholy spectacle. I had left my camp one morning to reconnoitre some ground near Mount Wayo, in Argyle, and after travelling for an hour, I crossed a rather steep grassy ridge, and descended into a rich forest-flat, between the hills, of some extent. Bent on following the valley upward, I had proceeded about a quarter of a mile, when my attention was attracted by sounds of human voices, wailing in wild and melancholy strains. I listened attentively, and the more I was struck with the peculiarity of the noise. Having made for the

direction from which the sounds proceeded, I soon perceived before me three native black women, and rode up to them. They were sitting round a mound of earth, with their heads depressed and nearly touching one another, nor did my presence at all disturb them or rouse their attention, but they remained in the same posture, and did not even look up.

“I waited some time in astonishment observing their actions, and listening to their horrid lamentable yells. They were each of them striking their heads with a tomahawk, holding that instrument in their right hand, and wounding particularly the upper part of the back of the head. Their hair was besmeared with blood, which I could perceive trickling down behind their neck and ears. I called to them loudly, but in vain. Determined, if possible, to find out the cause of the extraordinary scene before me, I dismounted, and tethered my horse at a little distance, and allowed them to remain undisturbed, while I took notice of the tomb and place around. The mound of earth might have been about three feet high; it was shaped as a dome, and built of a reddish clay; it was surrounded by a kind of flat gutter or channel, outside of which was a margin, both formed of the same material. The staves of the women were leaning upon it, and their nets, with their contents, thrown aside.

“The appearance of the place was agreeable, though lonely and sequestered, and trees of various descriptions ornamented the rich pasture on the ground. The trees all round the tomb were marked in various peculiar ways, some with zigzags and stripes, and pieces of bark curiously cut.

“Having satisfied myself with the appearance and locality of the place, I went up and pulled one of them by the cloak, and succeeded in making her look up. But when she did, I may safely assert, that it would be impossible to behold a more miserable, and I may add frightful, creature. She was the picture of utter wretchedness, anguish, and despair. Her face was covered with blood, and tears were falling fast in succession down her cheeks, as was the case with the others. She muttered something to me which I could not understand, then dropped her head again, and commenced wailing as before, in all the bitterness of agonizing grief.

“Such excessive weeping could only arise from natural affection, and regret for the loss of a departed relative. But what they utter, or for what reason they wound their heads, is yet a mystery and unknown to us. It is impossible to say, therefore, whether they invoke the dead, as able to hear beyond the grave, or whether the gashes in the head are intended to soothe the departed spirit.

“These tombs, or raised graves, of the natives are but seldom seen in the interior, and it is very probable that they are intended only to honour the burial-place of a chief on some particular occasions.

“It is a custom, however, among the women at particular times, to weep over these graves, which they invariably do in the manner above stated, and they are, no doubt, the relatives of the dead.

“In some instances these graves have been of a necessity removed by settlers, but the *spot* is always remembered and wept over in the same manner. As a proof

of this, I sometime afterwards saw some women weeping as described, by the corner of a garden near a gentleman's house on Mulwaru Plains, who informed me that there had been the grave of a native at that spot.

"The method of their disposing of their dead is generally as follows (and although few have ever witnessed the burial of a native, still, the spot having been known, the corpse has been seen in the grave after burial):—The body is removed to the place appropriated for its burial; the head is then bound down by strings of bark, close and nearly between the knees; the two hands are fastened behind each ankle, so that the body is forced into a crouching form, and takes up as little space as possible. The grave, or hole, is made just large enough to admit the body, and deep enough to allow rather more than a foot of earth above it when interred. The body is buried naked, with the exception of the bandages of bark with which it is confined, and the cloak, spears, and other weapons of the deceased are claimed, and become the property, I believe, of the chief."

The very intelligent gentleman to whom we are indebted for this description ascribes this apparent extravagance of grief to intensity of affection, but as the Australians are remarkable for their apathy to living relatives it would be indeed singular if they were to display such strong attachment to the dead. If the traveller had ever witnessed a funeral in the remote districts of the west and south of Ireland, he would have known that loud lamentations are very often a mere mockery of woe. Often have we seen women

run out, join in the train of a passing funeral, raise that dismal of all human cries the *keen*, with every outward appearance of the most bitter affliction, and when their breath was exhausted, very coolly ask, "who is dead?"

Theodore Irving relates an anecdote which illustrates the precise value of this mourning over the grave. When entering an Indian village, "our attention," he says, "was attracted by a low mournful cry, from the midst of a number of small mounds, at a short distance, the burial ground of the village. We approached the spot so cautiously, as not to disturb the person who was seated there. Upon the top of one of the graves, a large mound covered with grass, was lying an Indian girl. Her buffalo robe had escaped from her shoulder, and her long dishevelled black hair was mingled with the grass of the prairie. Her bosom was resting upon the sod, and her arms extended as if embracing the form of the being who was mouldering beneath.

"Believing that she was some female belonging to the tribe, singing a dirge over the grave of some departed friend, we listened attentively to her song. At one moment it would rise in the air with a plaintive sound, as if she was dwelling with mournful tenderness upon the virtues of the deceased. At times she would seem to speak of the feelings of his heart; at others the note would seem to be one of war, of battle; and then her song would burst from her, with the startling energy of a person who was in the midst of the scene itself, and was acting over the feats of the silent dead. At these moments she raised her head, and her whole frame seemed swelling with the inspiration of the

theme ; but in the very midst of this energetic burst of enthusiasm, the chord of some more mournful recollection would be touched, and the song would sink from its high and ardent tone, to a note of woe, so despairing, that it appeared as if the sluices of her heart were opened, and the deep hidden stream of her affection was flowing out in the mournful melody."

Interested and excited by the scene, Mr. Irving and his companions hastened to inquire the history of this lonely mourner, from "the half-bred interpreter," a man of great gravity and experience. "If it had been in the nature of his face to wear a more scornful expression than it usually did, the smile of contempt which passed over his weather-beaten features as we told the story, would have added to it. For a moment he seemed surprised,—then added that she was a squaw who resided in the adjoining lodge, and but a short time before he had heard her say to her mother, that as she had nothing else to do, she believed she would go and take a *bawl* over her brother's grave. He had been killed five years before."*

Mr. Irving's narrative shews how easy it is to mistake passionate emotion for abiding principle ; and to the influence of this error we must ascribe the very opposite pictures of domestic affection in savage life, presented to us by travellers. When a father, husband,

* A distinguished clergyman of the Church of Ireland has furnished the author with the following anecdote illustrating this subject. "A servant of mine who had lost a brother some months past, was to go with us to the part of the country where his brother was interred ; he said to one of my children with great joy in his countenance : "O sir, what fine shoutin' and bawlin' I'll have when I go to my brother's grave. 'Tis I that'll play murther over it!"

or brother is attacked by painful disease, no tender cares watch over his couch, no kindness soothes his pain,

For him no hand the cordial cup applies,
Nor wipes the tear that stagnates in his eyes ;

application is perhaps made to some enchanter to try the influence of magical charms, but laborious attention is refused to his wants and his sufferings. His agonies excite no sympathy, and even his last agony is viewed with indifference. But his funeral is celebrated with the howls of passionate grief ; weeping and wailing are abundant ; the passing stranger sees these bursts of sorrow and exclaims, " Behold the proofs of sincere affection !" Experience might have shewn him that these bursts of passion may indicate animal instincts, not moral feeling ; that these lamentations when genuine, are worth very little, and that the appearance of grief is very easy to be assumed. In civilized life a widow's tears are sometimes an untaxed advertisement for another husband, and despairing melancholy the herald of joyous indulgence. In barbarous countries the nearest relations are mutually afraid to make any demand or solicit any service : there is no interchange of good offices, no effort to increase the comfort and happiness of another ; for the labour necessary to alleviate the cares and ills of life, is substituted the luxury of a bawl over the grave.

It is now more than a century since Bishop Butler pointed out the distinction between passive and active habits, and the danger of confounding emotions with principles. Though the lazy indulgence of the emotion is absolutely destructive of the active principle, there

are still people who confound them together. One man blindly bestows alms on those who appeal to his compassion, thereby gratifying the mere impulse of pity or of pride, and is honoured as benevolent and charitable ; another exerts himself to discover the cause of the misery for the purpose of removing it—before giving his money, he gives what is still more valuable, his time and his trouble, and has the moral certainty of being called cold-blooded and hard-hearted for his pains. In the pictures of savage life, we find invariably bursts of passion described as instances of affection ; but when we come to the analysis of the picture, reason, like the half-bred interpreter, dispels the romance, and the whole ends in self-indulgence, for yielding to a passion is as much a selfish gratification as any other form of sensuality.

The Family obtains a higher importance with every advance in civilization, for though the family is natural to man, and essentially human, barbarism, as we have seen, raises obstacles in every direction to the development of its relations. It is scarcely possible to overrate the importance of the family in the formation and preservation of human society. Within its hallowed circle sympathy and disinterested affection are first evolved ; patriotism, as all languages testify, springs from “ the hearth ;” a good son has given a pledge that he will be a good subject, and there is a moral certainty that a good brother will be a good citizen. Sympathy and disinterested affection—the refreshing dew that renders the arid fields of life both fruitful and lovely—are first evolved in the family ; and every thing that disturbs the domestic relations, or weakens the domestic

affections, destroys the sources of those feelings and principles that best adorn and dignify humanity.

Some philosophers, whose tenets have been adopted by the Jesuits, condemn the love of relatives as a carnal inclination. They praise those ascetics who trample on all natural ties; they contrast an unbounded and universal benevolence with an affection limited to persons and localities, and insinuate that attachment to individuals generates indifference to the species. To this conclusion the Jesuits and the Owenites equally arrive, though starting from very different principles; and when they do agree, of course, "their agreement is wonderful." It is of some importance, at the present day, to shew that the principle of sociality by no means leads to the anomalous institution denominated socialism, and that the monastic rules adopted by the ascetics and the New Harmony institutes of the Owenite are adverse to the present happiness and future progress of humanity.

To begin with the Jesuits; they declare that the domestic affections are carnal. Nobody denies that they are so in their origin; for it is a principle of our nature, that the first impulses are given by the physical world: parental love is carnal; it is in its origin a mere animal instinct, but without it the race would become extinct: the whole machinery of industry is chiefly set in motion by the wants of man to satisfy his natural appetites; * but who ever said that on this account all parental love is animal passion, or all industry a mere matter of the belly? There is probably no such thing as perfect purity in the most exalted instance of virtue, or perfect depravity

* "C'est la faim, c'est le petit ventre qui fait mouvoir le monde," said Napoleon at St. Helena.

in the worst exhibition of vice; human life is a "tangled yarn," good and ill together; the slave who accompanied the victor of yore in his triumphal chariot, typified a principle of degradation within the conqueror's bosom — though "Nero fiddled when Rome was burning," there were softer feelings mingled in his character, for humble gratitude flung flowers on his tomb: when we come to the analysis of the best or the worst of characters, we find equally the apologue of Beauty and the Beast.

The spiritual is not essentially hostile to the carnal; it springs from it, and is supported by it. Our duty is not to eradicate natural feeling, but to develope, perfect, transform, purify, ennoble, and spiritualize them. The love of those with whom we are connected by natural ties, so far from being adverse to the formation of universal benevolence, is the only permanent foundation on which it can be based, and the only valid pledge which can be given for its existence. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" The apostle's argument is irresistible.

But, say some of these universalists, "those who make charity begin at home, frequently make it end there." The sentence is a pretty antithesis, and nothing more: those who quote the hackneyed proverb, "Charity begins at home," as an excuse for hardness of heart abroad, neither begin charity at home nor anywhere else. Follow them to their families and their homes; you will find them exhibiting the same coldness and callousness in the domestic circle which they evince to general humanity. Every generous emotion is in its nature elastic, and

naturally labours to widen the sphere of its influence:
the first impulse

Serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake ;
The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds,
Another still, and still another spreads ;
Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race.

But there are minds like stagnant pools whose surface has never been moved, where the undisturbed waters grow putrid and corrupt, until they taint the air with a moral miasma. To such a one, quoting the proverb, "Charity begins at home," it was once justly replied, "Sir, I should be glad to learn that *your* charity began anywhere."

To the rational Owenites, if such exist, it would be sufficient to say that the aggregate happiness of a community must be exactly equal to the sum of the separate felicities of the individuals that compose it. The sophism by which they impose upon themselves is, that society has a right to benefit at the expense of the individual. This is by no means a cruel proposal ; it was an acknowledged principle of action in all the Greek republics. Now it would be easy to shew that society has no such right, but it is more important to observe that such a principle would confer no benefit. Suppose a society thus constituted, and every thing must be made to yield to its original institutes. There can be no progress, for enthusiasm and character are equally banished. Enthusiasm can only be generated by freedom of individual action ; character can only be formed by spontaneous development. The Owenite tells us that his community will be held together by

social love, and at the same time proceeds to banish all natural love, kindness, and generosity; that is, he proposes to hold mankind in union by a chain, every link of which he has previously unfastened. This is the exact converse of the fable of the old man and the bundle of sticks, for the sticks are to be broken separately before the attempt is made to unite them into a whole.

We trust that this little digression will be pardoned, for in shewing the importance of the family in the comparison of barbarism and civilization, it was scarcely possible to avoid noticing the preference shewn for the barbarous usage by some who call themselves civilized men. Unfortunately this preference is not confined to the domestic relations; we shall find, as we proceed, that many of the essential principles of barbarism are advocated by persons who profess to be apostles of civilization.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL RELATIONS—PROPERTY.

WE have already seen that the State is simply organized society, without any reference to the legislative or executive power, by which that society is regulated. Government is an additional contrivance to facilitate the execution of the purposes for which society was instituted, and thus it becomes an essential part of the state, but not the state itself. We often see eleven rowers manage a boat without the aid of a helm or steersman, but we know that their labour is lightened, their safety secured, and their certainty of reaching their destination increased by the addition of a rudder. No one, however, asserts the rudder to be the boat, or the pilot the crew. It is of importance to keep this distinction constantly before us, because most writers have confounded the origin of the government with the origin of the state, and have reasoned as if the form came into existence at the same moment with the substance.

We have seen that the principle of sociality, natural to man, is first developed in the family; that a little society is formed within the hallowed precincts of the domestic circle, the advantages of which are the more appreciated the more they become the objects of experience and reflection. The prevailing idea in the family, that which renders its association so admirable

and so holy, is love; not the sentiment or passion known by that name, but the continued action of sacrificing personal and individual considerations to promote the happiness of the beloved object or objects. A very little consideration will shew that any wide extension of such sacrifices is impracticable; their moral loveliness arises from the sphere in which they are exercised, and common sense would stigmatise the man as unjust who would do no more for his own child than he would for a stranger.

When the principle of sociality extends beyond the family, as it naturally tends to do, it developes a new idea—that of justice, or securing to every person his individual right. In the state every obligation is mutual; no duty is exacted from a member for which he does not receive an equivalent, obedience to social law is rewarded by social protection, and every extraordinary exertion for the common good is rewarded by the hope, if not by the enjoyment of fame.

The state and the family, therefore differ, not only in size, but in the essentials of their constitution; at the same time, however, it is undeniable that there have been stages in the history of humanity, when the ideas of state and family were closely interwoven, and almost blended together. They were mixed up in the patriarch, they were continued when the family grew into a tribe, they were not always formally separated when the tribe became a nation. But the idea of justice is not the only one that first acquires a distinct existence when it is developed and enlarged; every institution, every art, and every science begins in an undefined state, mixed up with others, and is not sepa-

rated or distinctly developed until carried to a considerable distance from its source by the onward progress of civilization. Were the same person in our days to hold the offices of Astronomer Royal, Architect to the Board of Works, and Archbishop of Canterbury, he would be assailed by a storm of indignant ridicule, which would drive him out of society; yet, the uncontrolled direction of physical science, architecture, and theology, was committed to the Egyptian priesthood. Painting and writing were originally the same art,—they are now very different arts. All the parts of the oldest watches were made by the same artist: there are now distinct trades for the manufacture of almost every individual piece.

The confusion between a family and a state has been the source of much evil. Dr. Copleston, the present bishop of Llandaff, has very ably shewn the danger of arguments from analogy: there is a natural tendency in the human mind to infer a similitude between things themselves from a similitude between their relations, and when once the first step in error has been made, the discovery of the fallacy becomes a matter of considerable difficulty. A monarch is frequently represented as the father of his subjects, and there is sufficient similarity in the mutual relations of king and father to justify the metaphor, but assuredly there is not such an identity in their conditions as to justify monarchs in treating their subjects like children who had not reached the years of discretion. The Athenian republic was called the mother of the citizens; and from the title it was inferred that the republic might compel rich citizens to provide enter-

tainments and theatrical shows for the people, to fit out vessels of war for common defence, and support other public burthens, on the principle of a mother compelling a child to share a large plumcake with its brothers and sisters. This fallacy of paternal and maternal government has not been less mischievous in its love than in its cruelty and caprice; it generated a mischievous spirit of meddling, which would not allow people to be happy or to become prosperous in their own way. Bounties, protecting duties, and monopolies were devised with the best intentions; regulations were issued, directing what processes should be used and what avoided, until merchants and manufacturers combined in the common request, "Let us alone!" Nor has the fallacy on the other hand failed to influence subjects and citizens; they very commonly expect from ministers and parliaments, what neither ministers nor parliaments can bestow; nations, like individuals, have sometimes taken fits of sulkiness, and assailed their rulers for inactivity when they had deprived them of all means of exertion; the Romans of old refused to enlist, and at the same time accused their rulers for not repelling the incursions of the Volsci. If the fallacy has occasionally made rulers appear as injudicious parents on the one hand, it has exhibited the subjects as pettish children on the other.

The state is a society founded upon the relation of right. We have next to inquire, what is right? We have seen that man is a moral being, that is, a free agent, and yet that he is bound to live in society, which of necessity must limit his freedom of action. For, as all his fellows have the same claims, it is

necessarily a condition of society, a law of its existence, that the use of freedom by one should not contravene the enjoyment of liberty by another. Man does not create the relation of right, it comes into existence at the same instant with society; the upholding and enforcing that right is the object of society, constituted as a state.

There is no error more common than confounding what society has unfolded and promulgated, with what society has called into existence. The most striking example of this is the right of property, which, from its acquiring additional strength and security by the progress of society, is very commonly supposed to have been an invention of society. The golden age, when all things were common, has been celebrated by poets and philosophers without number; even grave divines have asserted, that the division of property was a consequence of the iniquity of man. It is not easy to discover whether this community of property so lauded, was an attribute of men individually, or of men in society, but in either case the theory rests on an obvious fallacy; namely, that things which were not owned by any individual were the property of all, the fact being that they were the property of none.

Who is the owner of the uncaught fish in the ocean, or the unplucked fruit in a pathless forest? They become the property of him by whom they are first taken: "this fish is mine, for I have caught it;"—"these berries are mine, for I have plucked them,"—are claims at once recognised, but they should at once be rejected, if the fruits and fishes were the property of all mankind. Their title is established by the most

forcible and conclusive of arguments—the exclusion of all the contraries—“to whom should this fish or fruit belong if not to me?”

Appropriation being universally recognised as a title, the notion of community of property must be abandoned. But appropriation, so far from being a super-induced attribute of man, is natural to him in every stage of society and in every age of life. “Property,” says Lieber, “is nothing else than the application of man’s individuality to external things, or the realization and manifestation of man’s individuality in the material world.” The desire of appropriating objects—making them, as it were, a part of the individual self—and thus rescuing them from undefined generality, meets us everywhere. A child, only two years old, calls one hyacinth hers, and another her brother’s, although she knows that neither will be permitted to touch the glasses in which they are growing. Children, looking together at passing clouds, at leaves floating on a stream, or even at waves breaking on the shore, will single out one of these objects as their own; will dispute whether the favoured cloud is the brighter, the chosen leaf the best swimmer, or the selected wave loudest in its roar. In our foundling hospitals and charity schools, every child is desirous to have something which it may call its own; the galley-slave, toiling at the oar, and the monarch seated on his throne, equally desire to impress their individuality upon some species of property, some object that may be called “mine.”

We do not always meet with the notion of landed property among uncivilized tribes; but every savage is

"monarch of his shed,"—the fish-hook he has made, the beasts he has hunted, and the canoe for which he has bartered, are his own. The notion of community has never entered into his head, he would resent every attempt to deprive him of these objects as a gross outrage.

Private property must necessarily exist so long as man possesses individuality; no complaint of the very poets who loudly celebrate the imaginary community of goods is more melancholy, than that no harvest is reaped by their own sickle. But an attempt has been made in our own days to realize this poetic dream, which has excited no small share of public attention, and which therefore requires more examination than either its merits or its novelty could reasonably demand. The social system—as this effort to revive forgotten folly is designated—professes to abolish all the crimes resulting from the possession of property, by establishing a community of goods. Such a proposal has often been made before, and is not unlikely to be frequently revived so long as society can be divided into what Sir E. L. Bulwer felicitously terms "the Have-nots" and "the Haves." It is therefore worth while to inquire whether such a scheme be practicable, and if practicable, whether its adoption would be beneficial to mankind? The two questions are very distinct in their nature, but it is scarcely possible to discuss one without taking some notice of the other.

The first objection to the schemes of the Socialists, as they choose to call themselves, is that they do not abolish private property. Corporate possessions are as much private property as individual acquisitions.

Robert Owen does not assert that all property should be common, but merely that all property belonging to the denizens of some square or parallelogram, some species of social barrack, should be common to the members of that community. He does not assert, though he is careful not to deny, that the property of said community should not be shared by other communities. The property, therefore, of the social barrack is as much private, as the property of an English municipality or a Franciscan monastery. At the best his proposal is merely to establish a Mutual Assurance Company, and he has so far succeeded that the stock of assurance possessed by himself and his followers is of very remarkable amount. But we may be told that this objection would be obviated if an entire nation adopted the barrack, or, as it is falsely called, the social system. This does not mend the matter; for that nation would undeniably have a right to insist on its joint-stock property, against the claims of any other nation. There is a significant hint in one of Robert Owen's pamphlets, recommending that the young should be instructed in the manual and platoon exercise; so that these social barracks are, like older establishments, to be not merely civil, but military. It is then a mere delusion, if not a downright fraud, to talk about the abolition of private property, when at most it is only proposed to transfer the right of property from an individual to an association.

Again, it is untrue that the right of property is ever abolished with regard even to the individuals in any social barrack. Not to speak of that monopoly of talk and of time which every socialist desires to establish in

his own favour, it is certain that men cannot be equal in their physical and mental acquirements. Nature herself has bestowed capacity, as private property, on every individual, and that property is inalienable and incommunicable. The clever and skilful artist will execute his task in a shorter time than he who is not gifted with the same powers; he will, therefore, have more leisure in the barrack: but time is property, leisure is property, enjoyment is property. Here then is inequality arising from the inevitable laws of nature. The barrack arrangement is to supersede that of the family; but if a person is not to have a pet child, is he to be prevented from having a pet bird, or a tame rabbit? Is there to be a common snuff-box, a steam-smoking apparatus with branch pipes, and a universal shaving machine to run down the ranks when the members are paraded for the manual exercise, brushing the faces and mowing the beards with the speed of a locomotive? "These little things are great to little men,"—comforts and conveniences will always be adapted to the taste of individuals, and the variety of taste will of necessity generate private property in some direction or other. The socialists have been fortunate in finding antagonists who can keep their countenances: had they not been libelled as knaves, they would have been laughed at as fools.

Let us not be understood to deny that there are cases in which great benefit may be derived from co-operative labour, and co-operative expenditure. Grant to the socialists the benefit of their favourite example of the bee—there may be associations that will collect honey, but there may also be associations with nothing of the

bee but the sting. Gil Blas was introduced to such a social barrack, established by Captain Rolando, an eminent professor of community of property. Moreover the bees turn the drones out of the hive, while the socialists propose that drones and working bees should share alike. But the co-operative principle has been known since the creation of the world; "Abel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain a tiller of the ground:" it exists in every united family, in every banking and commercial company—but, so far from being averse to private property, it is actually founded upon it; for individual exertion preceded united exertion, and led the way to the discovery of its advantages.

But socialism, we are boastingly told, has made many converts,—no doubt of it: there are two ways of gratifying vanity and self-love,—raising one's self up, or pulling others down,—the latter plan appears generally the easiest of accomplishment. In those preeminently social compacts, trade-unions, the great object of the regulations is to prevent the intelligent artisan gaining a higher rate of wages than the botch; the barrack system is the mere application of the same principle on a larger scale.

But we are told that the barrack system will destroy covetousness, avarice, and their consequent train of evils. We should be glad to know if these eminent moralists have ever given themselves the trouble of inquiring what covetousness is. It is nothing more than the vitiated excess of a principle originally innocent and even laudable. We have shewn that the desire of property springs naturally and necessarily from our constitution as human beings; it is, as we have said,

an inevitable result of individuality. As the desire is universal, its vitiated excess must be common. But to propose the destruction of that vice by the abolition of private property, is not one whit more sensible than to recommend the disuse of food as a check to gluttony, or the abolition of language as a prevention to socialists talking nonsense.

Finally we are told that a community of property existed among the first Christians. The fact is questionable (*see* "Hind's Rise and Progress of the Christian Religion"); but supposing that it were ever so well established, the early Christians found it practicable only so long as they remained a small sect and an oppressed church; they were held together by the bond of mutual love, not mutual advantage, and having a further uniting force—the pressure from without—the physical force of persecution.

If we are asked when was property divided? we answer by the previous question, when was it common? for if it was never common, the necessity for supposing a division ceases. If it be inquired when was it first appropriated? the answer is, when the first man breathed the first breath of air, and appropriated a portion of the atmosphere to the exclusive use of his own lungs; the process was then continued by his plucking fruit for food, sewing fig-leaves together for aprons, and using the skins of beasts for clothing. To a certain extent private property is recognised even by the lower animals; birds have their own nests, beasts their own lairs, and are ready to do battle against all intruders.

Having shewn that individual property, not community, is natural to man; it remains to point out the

advantages of its existence. In the first place, it is absolutely essential to the individuality of man, to his continuing a moral being, personally responsible for his actions. Men, united in society, are not like drops of liquid, merged into a single and uniform mass ; they are united, but not amalgamated. The greatness, the goodness, the energy and the activity of each, are manifested only in the individuality of each, and all these manifestations are associated with the acquisition of property, which is nothing more than the extension of man's individuality to the material world. Man strives to gather property that he may see his own, his personal skill, industry and perseverance, visibly and palpably represented. "It is a fixed law of nature, that industry—working either with the hand or with the mind—the application of the powers to some task, to the achievement of some result, lies at the foundation of all human improvement."

Though the notion of property is natural to man, and not only beneficial, but absolutely essential to his well-being, yet it does not suggest itself to his mind at once, perfect in all its bearings. It is a notion preeminently capable of progressive and continuous development. We have already shewn that every thing which characterises man as man, every condition essential to his humanity, appears clearer and more distinct, with every advancing stage of civilization, which consequently must be the true end, and not the artificial aim of human society. This is preeminently the case with respect to property: and no instance more strongly shews that, on the one hand, all that is natural to man, all that is essentially characteristic of him, unfolds itself more perspicuously with the pro-

gress of civilization ; and on the other, whatever shews itself in a steady gradation more perspicuously with the progress of civilization, is truly natural.

Looking at the differences between barbarous and civilized life in their relations to property, we find that they differ not as to the matter but the means. The processes of the *individualization* of things with us are few and simple,—they may all be reduced to production, appropriation, and occupancy by recognised tenure ; interference with the possession is at once seen and confessed to be not merely a trespass against the *arbitrary* enactments of society, but a violation of that natural equity which is independent of all political arrangements. Simple as these notions appear, it is by civilization that they have been simplified ; among all savage tribes they are overwhelmed by a multitude of devices, which have falsified and perverted the principles of rectitude. Theft or robbery is not considered disgraceful by the savage : all the early voyagers found these children of nature ready to pilfer every thing on which they could lay their hands ; and the crews of several ships have been cruelly massacred for the mere sake of the plunder. In fact, a savage scarcely deems theft or robbery a moral crime, unless it is accompanied with a breach of hospitality, confidence, or friendship. They are strong adherents to what has been called

The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.

Assuredly the poet of freebooters was mistaken in ascribing to this “good old rule” the merit of simplicity ; on the contrary, it is one of the most complicated plans in the world : there is, on the one hand,

a constant appetite of aggrandizement not unfrequently directed to objects of doubtful or even impracticable attainment,—there is, on the other, an equally restless apprehension of losing what has been attained. The action of both feelings necessarily generates a multitude of artifices and contrivances, compared with which the most complex problems in the law of property are the very perfection of simplicity. The study of “Fearn’s Contingent Remainders” is a mere joke compared with the remainders contingent on the forays of plundering tribes.

It is evident that the barbarian recognises property; he only differs from the civilized man respecting the mode of acquisition; he recognises force and fraud as legitimate forms of acquisition, in fact, as branches of industry; he believes power, courage, or cunning, sufficient to establish a title, not that every thing belongs promiscuously to every one. Even when civilization has advanced, we find traces of the barbarous title of power and courage being recognised among men. When Telemachus is described in the *Odyssey* as visiting Pylos, and receiving the rites of hospitality from Nestor, the old host, after feasting and praying with him, very coolly inquires whether his guests were merchants or pirates?

Now, gentle guests! the genial banquet o’er,
It fits to ask you, what your native shore,
And whence your race? on what adventure say,
Thus far ye wander through the watery way?
Relate if business, or the thirst of gain,
Engage your journey o’er the pathless main:
Or are ye pirates, who through seas unknown,
Seek others’ lives, and peril thus their own!

Telemachus answers the question with the same coolness, without feeling at all offended at the suspicion of piracy. We have only to look at the history of the Middle Ages to find robbery by land and sea held not merely innocent but laudable. A proclamation of the English Edward III. sets forth that, "Whereas certain right noble lords and right honourable ladies, do accustom themselves to robbery on the high roads, and piracy on the high seas," it had become necessary to check these fashionable amusements, not so much on account of their criminality, as because they diminished the returns to the royal exchequer, by deterring foreign merchants from visiting the country. Roderick Dhu logically argues his right to seize with the strong hand, and brings nature herself to support the argument:

Ask we the savage hill we tread,
For fatten'd steer or household bread,—
Ask we for food those shingles dry,
And well the mountain might reply:
"To you, as to your sires of yore,
Belong the target and claymore;
I give you shelter in my breast,
Your own good blades must win the rest."

In the reign of Elizabeth and the first James, buccaneering was no dishonourable profession; men of noble rank, high bearing, and even some who laid claim to religious principle—Sir Walter Raleigh for instance—recognised "no peace south of the line." Even within our own memory privateering was deemed innocent, and soldiers were considered fairly entitled to the plunder of a town taken by storm. The slave-trade is still deemed a legitimate traffic by nations calling themselves civilized and christian; the protection

of aborigines from the violence of settlers, is a duty only just beginning to be acknowledged by statesmen.*

The natural notions of property are sufficiently plain, and yet we find them warped and perverted by such monstrous devices as those we have described. So far as they at least are concerned, the work of civilization consists in the abolition of the numerous devices by which barbarism has falsified and perverted the natural dispositions of the human heart and understanding, and in the reformation of society upon principles more consistent with their unsophisticated dictates.

The right of property, leads immediately to the consideration of the important question, whether there is a necessary increase of crime in proportion to the progress of civilization? This is merely an inquiry into facts; and yet, practically, it will be found to turn in a great degree on the definition of terms. The word crime is vaguely used for three very distinct classes of offences: violations of natural equity, violations of moral opinion — confessedly an arbitrary and variable standard,— and violations of conventional rules devised for the convenience of society. There is a further source of confusion, chiefly found in religious writings, a tendency to confound crime with sin, and thus further perplex the subject by introducing a consideration of the divine law; nay more, to increase indefinitely the enactments of that law by exaggerated comments. These varieties of crime differ so much in the amount of their intensity, that millions of one class would not equal a single unit of another. For instance, it is by law a crime for any householder in London not to have the space before his door, after a fall of snow, swept clean at a certain hour

* See Howitt's History of Colonization and Christianity.

before noon, and the penalty for neglect is equally severe with that usually levied for rioting, intoxication, and sometimes for aggravated assaults. Everybody, however, will confess that there is more moral turpitude in any one act of physical violence, than in leaving the snow undisturbed from one end of London to the other. Here then we see that the number of criminals is far from being a correct measure of the amount of criminality.

The law declares that a gambling debt cannot be recovered ; society stigmatises a refusal to pay such a debt, when fairly incurred, as dishonourable. Now suppose a man, or a set of men, regularly taking advantage of the law of opinion to recover when they win, and sheltering themselves under the law of the land to avoid payment when they lose, there would clearly result a large amount of moral, though not of technical crime, which would never form an item in a table of criminal statistics.

Adultery and seduction are atrocious crimes by divine and moral law, but they are not crimes in the statute book. Breaking a window is a legal offence, but breaking a heart escapes the cognizance of the legislator. There are it seems, sinful, or as they are sometimes termed criminal actions, that are not crimes, and crimes that are not sins or criminal actions. Hence necessarily arises an immense source of error in estimating the amount of criminality in any given age or country. It is no doubt true that every advanced stage of society offers new opportunities for crime ; this indeed, is only saying, that when the relations between men are multiplied, the possibility of violating such relations is multiplied in the same proportion. A periodical

writer lately assailed railroad travelling, and asserted that the amount of casualties on the road between Birmingham and London was greater than in the days of stage-coaches. Granting that this were the case, the inference would still be in favour of the safety and security of railroad travelling, because the number of passengers travelling by the trains, bears a far greater proportion to the amount who travelled by coaches than the casualties under the new system does to the old. The proper business of the state is to protect and regulate the relations of society, to foster the use and prevent the abuse; but a possibility of abuse is inherent in every new relation, and hence the number of punishable and indictable offences necessarily increases with the progress of civilization. But to prove that criminality increases, it is necessary not only to shew an additional per centage in reference to the population, but also to the relations established between the members of that population. There can be no forgery where there is not the art of writing, and no picking of pockets where everybody goes naked.

Mr. C. W. Dilke has directed our attention to another very important consideration. We must naturally expect most lapses where there is most temptation; but on the other hand a greater amount of virtue is exercised, or called into being, by resistance to temptation. Criminal returns give us only the number of those who have fallen, but where are we to seek for the records of that unbending integrity which has triumphed over countless trials of which the barbarian and the rustic are wholly ignorant? The entire system of commercial credit and confidence, is an exhibition of virtue the merits of which are rarely appreciated. It

was an intimate knowledge of human nature, that dictated the petition, "Lead us not into temptation!" it is a prayer which should teach us the duty of charitable judgment. "Whenever I hear of transgression," said an eminent divine, "I do not say, thank God that I have not so fallen! but thank God that I have not been so tempted!" In all fairness the amount of virtue in resisting temptation should be taken into account, as well as the amount of vice in yielding to temptation, when we proceed to investigate the criminality produced by civilization.

Some writers, misled by M. Guerry's "Criminal Statistics of France," have not hesitated to infer that education in France is the parent of crime. Taking his returns as they stand, and omitting the very important corrections which Mr. Porter has shewn to be necessary, let us see what is really the inference to be deduced from his tables. The greatest amount of offences against property is to be found in those districts where intelligence is most generally diffused. But those are also the departments in which there are most branches of industry, most activity of commerce, and the greatest accumulation of wealth, so that in fact the only justifiable inference would be that there is most crime against property wherever there is most property; an assertion which nobody will be disposed to controvert. Pockets cannot be picked where there is nothing in them, nor frauds practised where there is no traffic. There is no poaching where there is no game.*

* It is said that an intelligent artisan of Manchester, whose experience of life was limited to the precincts of the manufactories, expressed his surprise that poaching should be considered as a crime, since he found it an excellent mode of dressing eggs!

Mr. Francis Clarke, of Birmingham, has pointed out another source of error. An increase in the criminal returns may prove, not an increase in crime, but in the vigilance of the police. Many offences are winked at in one state of society, which are strictly repressed in another. Faction-fighting, at Irish fairs, was, until very recently, permitted, or at least connived at by the magistrates, and the number of persons now punished for the offence swells the criminal calendar, but adds nothing to the real amount of crime in the country. There is an old saw applied to sportsmen,

What is hit is history,
But what is mist is mystery.

It is no less applicable to criminal returns; it is a very conceivable state of things, to have the gaols most empty when crime is most abundant. At the last meeting of the British Association, a document was read, tending to shew that the mining districts are the most moral in England; but before admitting the inference, it was proposed that it be referred to the geological section, to determine at what distance beneath the surface of the earth the Queen's writ ceased to run.

The number of offences against law must necessarily be modified by the number of offences created by law. Now, there is a tendency in human nature to multiply these offences beyond what the necessity of the case requires. Whatever people have a right to do they will do, especially if it involves some privilege. Luther, enumerating "the nine qualities and virtues of a good preacher," gives as the sixth, "that he should know when to stop." In the same way as preachers, lawyers and parliamentary orators speak too much, legislators

are found to legislate a little too much. "I could never obtain a grant of sixpence," said a celebrated statesman, "but I could always carry a felony without benefit of clergy." In almost all acts of police, there is more or less of vexatious and interfering legislation, because those who undertake to direct the morals of the poor, are generally ignorant of the habits of the poor, and consequently frame enactments that provoke their own violation.

It is with morality as with vitality; the forms of vice and the forms of death are multiplied, but criminality and mortality are not increased. We may look on our criminal statutes as on the boxes and bottles of an apothecary's shop; remedies are provided for diseases of which our ancestors never heard, or to which they submitted as trifling inconveniences unworthy of notice. On the first appearance of a cough we hasten to gargles, pills, mixtures, and all the combinations of drugs that can be expressed in bad writing and worse Latin. With them, the cough often continued to the coffin. In spite however of the multitudinous diseases, and in spite or in consequence of the still more multitudinous drugs, there is no statistical fact better ascertained, than that the average duration of human life has been increased by the progress of civilization.

Let the tables of criminality be examined like the tables of mortality—look not to the numerical amount of diseases or of crimes, but to the absolute amount of guilt and of death. Thus viewed, the official returns which have been published, and which seem to prove an increase in the number and variety of crimes, are far from being discouraging: they do not justify the

feelings of apprehension, with which the progress of humanity is so often viewed, nor the cry of alarm that is so often raised;* they do indeed hold out motives for continued exertion and increased energy—for measures of prevention and vigilance—not to stop the progress of degradation, but to accelerate the advance of amelioration.

It has been necessary to depart a little from the usual order of viewing the social relations of the state to its members, and to consider protection of property before protection of person, because the two most common errors respecting civilization are connected with property: the first, that property is the creature of society; and the second, that violations of property are produced by civilization. Though few hold these opinions in their extremes, they are found very commonly mixed up with most speculations and reasonings on the subject, and it was therefore necessary to remove difficulties which lay at the very threshold of our inquiries.

* "Alarm," says Dr. Dewey, "appears to be one of the epidemic diseases of the age. Every religious association, every little spiritual coterie, every school of sect, speculation, and philanthropy, is trembling for the fate of the world. *Now*, the philosophy of the world is going to ruin it; *then*, its extravagance, intemperance, licentiousness, is to do the work; then popery, heresy, infidelity, is elevated to this bad eminence in mischief. The danger from some of these quarters I freely admit; but is it really worth while to observe through how many prophecies of ruin, through how many critical and doomed periods, the world has lived. Truly, one is sometimes tempted to say to these alarmists—Good sirs, have a little patience, the world is likely to last our time; the purposes of Providence will stand, though you be disappointed in some of your favourite theories and projects."

Moral Views of Commerce, etc., p. 215.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL RELATIONS—PERSONAL SECURITY.

WE have shewn that the State is natural to man, and exists of necessity; but there remain two points to be examined, which are very commonly misrepresented. It is often said, that "every man, coming into society, abandons a portion of his natural rights to protect the remainder." No man ever did any such thing; the state exists, not to absorb individuality, but to enable each individual to obtain the true ends of his existence. It takes away no natural right, it only requires that each right should be advantageously exercised. It does not necessarily deprive a man of freedom, it only prevents each from injuring the other. A man is not robbed of his gun when he is forbidden to shoot his neighbour, nor is he deprived of the use of his limbs when prevented from committing an assault. The dream of a social compact, that is of individual men agreeing to form a society, has perplexed a very simple subject, and led to the sophism, that the prohibition of the abuse is a restriction on the use. But the laws of nature would be as great restraints as the laws of society were this the case: a man may walk as he pleases, but if he throw the centre of gravity backward or forward too much, he will get a severe fall; he may exercise his hands as he pleases, but if he

cut the carotid artery he will die; he may eat what he likes, but he will not find arsenic safe food, nor Prussic acid wholesome drink. The state, in directing the use and preventing the abuse of the human faculties and powers, does no more than what nature itself has done. Hence the eminent Selden, in his notes to Fortescue, truly says, "But in truth, and to speak without perverse affectation, all laws in general are originally equally ancient. All were grounded upon nature, and no nation was, that out of it took not their grounds; and nature being the same in all, the beginning of all must be the same." Victor Cousin, in his *History of Philosophy*, takes a more extensive view. "That which men have been pleased to call society, in a state of nature is nothing more than a state of war, where the right of the strongest reigns, and the idea of justice comes not at all, or comes only to be trodden under foot by passion. . . . Justice established, constitutes the state. The use of the state is to cause justice to be respected by means of force; and it acts in conformity with an idea which is inherent in that of justice, to wit, that injustice ought not only to be repressed but punished. . . . The state takes no notice of the infinite variety of human elements which were conflicting amidst the chaos and confusion of natural society; it does not embrace the whole man; it considers him only in the relations of the just and the unjust—that is to say, as capable of committing or receiving an injury—that is to say again, as capable of impeding or being impeded by others, by fraud or violence, in the exercise of that agency which, so far as it is inoffensive, ought to be voluntary and free. Hence

are derived all legal duties and all legal rights. The only legal right is that of being respected in the peaceable exercise of liberty; the only duty—I speak now only of civil order—is that of respecting the liberty of others. Justice is no more than this; justice is the maintenance of reciprocal liberty. The state then does not put a limit to liberty, as has been sometimes said, for it only develops and confirms it.”

It appears from these considerations, that man sacrifices no right to society or the state; it remains then to consider, whether man derives right from the state. This would undoubtedly be the case if we accepted the common definition of right, that it is “nothing but lawfulness, or that which the law permits.” But that this is an erroneous account of right, must appear evident on a very little reflection. If law be antecedent to right, where did the legislator acquire his right to make laws? It is not positively enacted by English law, that a man may do every thing which is not prohibited by law, but the principle is universally recognised. Where then does this right come from? If we were to regard law as conventional—the mere expression of the arbitrary will, either of a legislator or of society—we should deprive it of its highest sanction; but all law-givers have appealed to an authority superior to all conventional establishments. “God spake these words and said,” is the introduction to the decalogue—Lycurgus sought a confirmation to his code by an appeal to the Delphic oracle. To the imprint stamped on all created things by their Creator, every code refers as its ultimate source; even the Atheist bows to this authority, while he tries to deceive himself by calling it nature.

The theory that laws are merely conventional, that the rights of humanity exist only in consequence of a social compact, we have shewn to be a mere poetic fiction; for had not society previously existed, no compact could have been framed. Even as a conventional formula, it is an awkward circuitous way of arriving at a truth, without the previous belief of which, the contract itself would be nugatory. The very notion of a contract assumes original rights in the community, inherent in the very nature of man, and independent of all social institutions. The feigned contract adds nothing, and presupposes every thing, whether it exist or not: we must still, as men, have the rights which mankind, simply as mankind, possessed. The fiction, then, is only an indirect mode of asserting original rights which the very contract takes for granted in the contractors. It is not by the sacrifice of rights, but for the preservation of rights, that society exists.

The doctrines of the divine right of kings, passive obedience, and non-resistance, are not based, as many have endeavoured to prove, on absolute falsehood, but on a mistaken view of a simple truth. The state is, as we have said, a society founded on right, existing naturally and necessarily, and therefore designed for man by his Creator. It may consequently be said to be of divine institution. Being a natural, that is, a divine institution, every member singly must owe some duties to the members collectively; and of course, all members collectively must have certain rights, and consequently certain duties towards each man singly. Some machinery must exist for enforcing the fulfilment of these duties; the government is the instrument by

which the state fulfils its functions; and hence the divine rights belonging to the state have been sometimes believed inherent in the government. It is a simple transfer of the attribute of the substance to the accident.

It is scarcely a digression to add a few words on a subject so deeply important, and so open to misrepresentation. Many persons believe, that though the theory of the divine right of governments is not an absolute truth, yet that it ought to be kept as a convenient formula for expressing the duty of obedience. But the formula is liable to the same objection as the fiction of the social compact—it is unnecessary, and it is an obscure mode of stating a very simple truth. The duty of obedience arises from the very nature of society. “It is our duty to obey, because mankind, or at least that large portion of mankind which we term our country, would suffer in its rights if we were not to obey.” Hence, even imperfect governments are found to possess a powerful hold on the obedience of the wise and good; hence the tendency to insurrection is found to diminish with the progress of civilization. Knowledge is the great conservative principle of society. A constable with his simple staff, claims and receives that obedience in England which an Oriental despot cannot enforce without the presence of an army. Popular ignorance is perilous to every government, but especially to a representative government. In the remarkable words of Dr. Dewey, “A representative government represents the character of the people, and that government which represents prevailing ignorance, degradation, brutality, and passion, has its fate as cer-

tainly sealed, as if from the cloud that envelopes the future, a hand came forth and wrote upon your mountain-walls the doom of utter perdition."

Security of obedience cannot safely be based on any fiction, neither on the contract to which we were not parties, nor on the imaginary transfer of right from the state to the government. Its sure foundation is the knowledge, that obedience is essential to the public weal, to the general happiness of the community, to the maintenance of the rights of each individual separately, and the rights of society collectively. Edmund Burke, with his usual force and truth, says, "The speculative line of demarcation, where obedience ought to end, and resistance must begin, is faint, obscure, and not easily definable. It is not a single act, or a single event which determines it. Governments must be abused and deranged indeed, before it can be thought of; and the prospect of the future must be as bad as the experience of the past. When things are in this lamentable condition, the nature of the disease is to indicate the remedy to those whom nature has qualified to administer, in extremities, this critical, ambiguous, bitter potion to a distempered state. Times, and occasions, and provocations, will teach their own lessons. The wise will determine from the gravity of the case; the irritable from sensibility to oppression; the high-minded, from indignation at abusive power in unworthy hands; the brave and bold, from the love of honourable danger in a generous cause: but with or without right, a revolution will be the very last resource to the thinking and the good."

In another passage we find this great statesman

pointing out, with similar clearness, the true conservative principles of human society. "In every arduous enterprise," says he, "we consider what we are to lose, as well as what we are to gain; and the more and better stake of liberty every people possess, the less they will hazard in a vain attempt to make it more. **THESE ARE THE CORDS OF MAN.**"

The same great authority observes, that it is not by forms or by statutes, but by pervading principle, that the framework of society is held together. "Do you imagine," he asks, "that it is the land-tax which raises your revenue? that it is the mutiny-bill which inspires your army with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to the government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious constitution, which gives you your army and navy, and infuses into both that liberal confidence, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber."

Right being natural, and not conventional, it follows that the state does not create original rights; but that, in order to protect them, it modifies their mutual operation, publicly acknowledges, limits and sanctions them. In the same way the state does not create value,—it merely recognises its existence, stamps coin to represent it, and makes regulations for its exchange. "Christianity" has been declared, on high authority, "part and parcel of the law of England;" but no one would assert that therefore the Christian religion is the creature of English law. One of the Lateran councils proclaimed the necessity of believing in the immortality of the soul, but assuredly it was not the vote of

the assembled fathers that rendered the soul immortal. The French Convention decreed their belief in a Supreme Being, but this was only recognising a belief which previously existed.

Right being natural, that condition of society must be most accordant with nature, in which human rights are most fully developed, and best protected. This principle immediately leads to the exposure of the fallacy, that the barbarian possesses more liberty than the civilized man. Absolute liberty—a total freedom from all restraints save those imposed by the conscience and understanding—can only exist in the exceptional cases of individuals totally isolated from society. Of such liberty no estimate can be formed—a standard of comparison is wanting: one thing, however, is clear; that such a state can neither be very desirable, nor very valuable; because the few who have been found in such a condition, differ little, if at all, from beasts in their lair. Wherever there is society, there must of necessity be law; there must be restraint.

Political liberty—the liberty belonging to man in his natural, that is to say, in the social state—has been justly defined, by Lord Plunket, to be protection in doing every thing not prohibited by law. Obedience to law is, consequently, a necessary element of freedom; for law being instituted to protect the exercise of individual rights, a violation of law is not so much an exercise of individual freedom as an intrusion on the rights of others. Let us take fiscal regulations as an example: the smuggler evades the payment of duties on certain articles of consumption, and argues his right to purchase what he requires as cheap as he

can; but nothing is more clear, than that his exercise of this right violates the rights of others. It sounds harsh, but it is nevertheless true, that the smuggler robs his neighbours; for they must be taxed to make good the deficiency which he causes in the revenue: a right is not destroyed when its exercise is modified; on the contrary, it may be thus rendered more valuable and perfect. We are not prevented from eating and drinking because disease is attendant on gluttony and intoxication: the rules for regulating riding and driving on the public road do not prevent travelling; on the contrary, they enable all to travel with ease and safety.

The misconceptions which prevail on this subject arise from the primary error, of a natural state of man and a natural liberty having no reference to society. Civil liberty is falsely judged by an imaginary and negative standard. It is believed that the less you are required to give up of your supposed original liberty, the greater will be the amount of civil liberty. Such a notion is radically wrong. It assumes society to be a human institution, a conventional contrivance; whereas we have shewn that it is not only natural, but absolutely necessary to the existence of man, since, without it, he would be a naked rover of the forests, a miserable fugitive before its other savage tenants, and the most helpless of all living things.

Liberty, then, is not to be measured by the greater or less absence of restraint; unless, indeed, we take the account of it said to have been given by a heated partisan of faction. "I wish I were free, I wish I were free!" exclaimed this worthy gentleman. "And

are you not free?" asked a friend. "Can you not do as you please?" "Ay," he replied, "but I cannot make you do as I please!" Is this what is meant by original liberty?

Restraint is not inconsistent with liberty, because there is no giving up of any thing which we formerly possessed. We are forbidden to bear false witness against our neighbour. But as Lieber justly asks, "had we ever the right to speak against our neighbour?" In the supposed state of original liberty, man had no neighbours. He might, of course, mutter to himself what he chose, and we may say against our neighbour any thing we like, provided we take care that no one overhears the calumny. Designing and intending the death of the sovereign or the overthrow of the government is highly penal in every civilized society; but in the imaginary original condition, the natural man is his own sovereign and his own government; if he be guilty of designing and intending against himself, he will assuredly have to pay the penalty.

Liberty, then, exists in the degree in which a man's action and activity in all just and right things are unfettered by the action and activity of others. Hence the absence of law and government, in so far as these restraints are really wanting in the savage state, is not favourable to liberty, or the source of happiness, but is the great curse and blight of a barbarous condition. In truth, it is only of the protecting power of the laws that the people are deprived,—of their controlling and oppressive efficacy they feel more than enough. Whatever of independence exists, belongs to the chiefs alone, and they are generally subject to the caprice of a more

powerful head, the only constitutional check on whose tyranny, is the dread of assassination. The character of a barbarous sovereign—the only kind of monarch found in the savage state—is forcibly drawn by the prophet Samuel :

“This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you : he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen ; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties ; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers and to his servants. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep : and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out on that day because of your king which ye have chosen you ; and the LORD will not hear you in that day.”—1 Sam. viii. 11—18.

Nor is the state of society better when the royal authority is either weak or wanting. The condition of Palestine under its worst tyrant was not so bad as when “there was no king in Israel, and every man did that which was right in his own eyes.” As there is nothing fixed and nothing defined, every savage is

almost constantly interfering with his neighbour. The sower is not sure that he will be the reaper; the hunter having run down the chase, is not sure that another man will not start fresh from the bush, and intercept his prey. Ere Latium became civilized, the same word, *hostis*, signified both an enemy and a stranger. Kidnapping and slavery, in their worst forms, are invariably found in savage life. There is, unfortunately, no doubt that slavery has existed in countries claiming a high degree of civilization; but this remnant of barbarism has always been restricted, both by positive law and by the force of public opinion. Even in the slave-states of America, a tyrannical and cruel master is an object of general odium. There are times, indeed, when the cowardice of fear prompts the whites to measures of sanguinary precaution, as, indeed, must always be the case, wherever there is a legalised ascendancy; but except when influenced by such a passion, civilized society resents the infliction of wanton cruelty. But in barbarous nations, slavery is unrestricted;—there are no limits to the power of the master—and there is no definition of his relations to the slave. A New Zealand chief puts a cookee to death with as little compunction as a European brushes away a fly. Captain Cruise informs us that when a son of one of the chiefs died in Mr. Marsden's house in New South Wales, it required the interposition of that gentleman's authority to prevent some of the boy's countrymen who were with him from killing a few of their slaves in honour of their deceased friend.

That civilization is more favourable to personal liberty than barbarism, appears evident from the fact,

that all who have aided the progress of civilization, as legislators and reformers, have directed their attention to a mitigation of the horrors of slavery whenever they found its complete abolition impossible, under existing circumstances. The humane institutions of Moses are generally known. Theseus prohibited cruelty to slaves when he began a constitution in Attica; and, ever afterwards, those who fled from the cruelty of their masters, found an asylum in his temple. Even Mohammed extended his care to this oppressed class, in a chapter revealed at Medina, and, consequently, belonging to the later and triumphant portion of his career, when his object was rather to confirm his authority than to gain favour. "Unto such of your slaves," says he, "as desire a written instrument allowing them to redeem themselves on paying a certain sum, write one, if ye know good of them; and give them of the riches of God, which he hath given you." Al Beidawi, in his Commentary, declares, on the authority of tradition, that the Prophet extended this precept to all Moslems, whether masters or servants, requiring them to aid slaves in making up the amount of their ransom, and to assist those who had purchased freedom in obtaining the means of honest livelihood.*

It is not easy, under any circumstances, to reconcile

* That the horrors of slavery were mitigated by every advance in civilization, is also evident from the preference which slaves themselves have always evinced for servitude in a city rather than in a rural district. When Horace wanted to check the insolence of a slave, his most formidable threat was, that he would send him to work on his Sabine farm. In America, slavery is not found in the commercial and manufacturing states, but only in the agricultural states of the union.

the existence of slavery with that of political liberty. In the indignant words of Lord Brougham, "What is freedom where all are not free,—where the greatest of God's blessings is limited by the most paltry of all distinctions—a difference of colour? . . . The existence of slavery in America is an atrocious crime—a crime which makes the name of liberty half suspected, and the boast of it disgusting." . . . But there is another aspect under which it is of importance that this subject should be viewed; we must look not only to the yoke imposed upon the slave, but to the moral servitude inflicted upon the master. The dread of a servile war, or at least of a domestic insurrection, is almost ever present to his mind; the cowardice of fear drives him to precautions which only aggravate his danger; for there is a point where excess of weakness passes into excess of strength; it is the point where endurance abandons hope, and grasps despair.

Most persons have heard of a form of insanity once common in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, which was called "running a muck;" but it is not generally known that this perilous madness was engendered by servitude. "The old accounts of Java," says Count Hagendorp, "teem with stories of the *Amokspewers*, who, in their blind rage, ran through the streets, killing or wounding all they met, until they even cut down themselves. These displays have become exceedingly rare since the abolition of the slave-trade. They were chiefly the recently-imported Bouginians or Bolinians, who, regretting their country, their parents, a wife or a child, became desperate; or who, unable to execute commands which they did not

comprehend, and fearing punishment, felt a disgust for life, which rapidly passed into madness. They seized the first weapon on which they could lay their hand, and struck at random all who came in their way, knowing beforehand that they would themselves fall in turn, and that death would terminate their sufferings." How can a man be said to enjoy liberty, when the energies of despair are every hour developed around him; when his personal safety requires incessant vigilance, and when his life is at the mercy of those who have learned to place no value on their own.

Every account we have received of barbarous society is decisive in its statement of the fact, that there is very little protection for person or property. So much, indeed, is this the case, that in many instances it would seem as if total isolation were a preferable condition. This furnishes an additional argument against those who believe society to be a mere human institution, for the advantages of society are not perceptible in what have been called its earliest stages; they are only developed when society has considerably advanced.

Nobody has described slavery as a natural condition of society; its origin is usually ascribed either to progress, or to a corrective principle applied to a super-induced evil. Slaves were probably at first captives taken in war, and their services were deemed a ransom given for life. This was certainly an improvement on indiscriminate massacre, but it was an improvement which suggested making war for the sake of obtaining captives, and this naturally led to piracy and kidnapping. Though there are no natural principles in humanity which lead to barbarism, we shall find that men have

the power of so perverting natural principles as to derive from them the very opposite of the purposes for which they were implanted. The love of power is not necessarily bad in its origin; it is connected with the desire or urgency of action which is inherent in our nature, and which, like the love of acquisition, urges man to individualize the objects by which he is surrounded, and to stamp on the external world the imprint of himself. The difference between men is not about the end, but the means. In the anecdote already quoted, of the father who said to his son, "Take your physic, master Tommy, and you shall have the dog to kick," is embodied all the sophistry with which tyrants, whether in wide or contracted spheres, have deluded their supporters, since the creation of the world. Master Tommy was tempted by an opportunity for exercising his love of activity; his anxiety to act, to produce, to exert his faculties—in short, to display power. The father's error was not the giving an opportunity for the exercise of power, but it was the direction of the power to an improper object: had he promised a top to spin, instead of a dog to kick, the bribe would, in all probability, have been equally effectual.

There can be no doubt that barbarism has a tendency to generate a state of slavery; for we find such a condition among all uncivilized nations, save where it is limited by the difficulty of procuring subsistence; for it is the essential attribute of power that, if unchecked, it will continue to increase. Civilization alone supplies the check, and, consequently, civilization is necessary, not merely to the enjoyment, but even to the

possession of freedom. Liberty arises out of the development of society; it is indeed a natural principle, but then it is a principle which requires both sanction and protection. Like property, it has been acknowledged, in some form or other, from the earliest ages; as civilization advanced it became more clearly defined, more distinctly recognised in the various spheres of human activity and enterprise,—spheres which could not have existed or been maintained without civilization.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF NATURE—WAR.

ONE of the strangest, and at the same time one of the most common misrepresentations respecting a state of barbarism is, that it is a scene of universal love and harmony. The dreamers who have published their visions of an original condition of ignorance and innocence, averred that the union which bound man to man under such circumstances, was a spirit of spontaneous love, leading each to delight in the brotherhood of his kind, and thus gathering together all the members of the tribe into one affectionate and harmonious family. A close examination of savage life has reversed the picture; instead of being a state of universal love and harmony, it is commonly one of perpetual discord and violence. We have shewn that the feeling of right is natural to man, and that the efficacy of civilization is most sensibly experienced in defining, strengthening, and securing the rights both of the individual and the community; but where rights are unsettled and undefined, wrongs must be frequent, and recourse must be had to violence for that redress which no law exists to afford.

When the right of redressing his own wrongs is left to every individual, injuries are felt most deeply, and revenge is sought with unrelenting rancour. In civilized life we too frequently see the fatal influence of

such a principle; the worst outrages are usually perpetrated by those who "take the law into their own hands,"—a servile war, a Jacquerie, or an agrarian insurrection, are far more to be dreaded than plague, pestilence, and famine. But these horrors, which are found occasionally in civilized states, constitute almost the entire history of savage existence: no time can obliterate the memory of an offence, and no expiation can be received for injury but the blood of the offender. It is not altogether to the encroachments of the Whites that we must attribute the rapid disappearance of the Red men from America; at least as destructive a cause is the inveterate passion of the Indians for war, and their insatiate thirst for vengeance. In a future chapter, we shall see that there is strong evidence to prove that depopulation had commenced among the aborigines of North America long before the New World was visited by Europeans, and since that period, tribes have disappeared from the interior, which never were brought into contact with the white intruders.

Mr. Kolff, in his recent examination of the Indian Archipelago, found the islanders invariably engaged in war, and, conscious of the mutual sufferings they inflicted on themselves, most of them expressed anxiety that the Dutch would establish their supremacy over all parties, and become umpires in their quarrels. One example will shew from what trifling causes a series of sanguinary feuds may arise and be perpetuated. The following is his account of the enmity which had arisen against the people of the Romian, in the Tenimber islands:—

"The people of Romian happened to have more

success in the Trepang fishery than the people of the other villages during two successive years, which gave rise to an envious feeling on the part of their neighbours, which was increased by a Chinese vessel having remained at Romian to trade, while only one of the China-men belonging to her proceeded to Ewena to barter with the inhabitants. These circumstances gave rise to distrust and estrangement, and the people of both villages began to avoid each other, though without coming to an open rupture.

“A third accidental circumstance which occurred, tended to enlarge the breach. While the children belonging to the two villages were playing with small bows and arrows, a child from Ewena happened to wound slightly one of those from Romian. The inhabitants of the latter place, viewing the accident as an intentional offence, demanded satisfaction, and whenever parties from each village met, they proceeded from words to blows, and at length broke out into open war with each other. Each party robbed the other of their women, destroyed their fisheries, and put a stop to their agriculture, becoming more embittered at the occurrence of every deed, until at length, a few weeks before my arrival, a downright skirmish ensued, in which the people of Ewena had one man killed and nine wounded, while ten belonging to the other party were wounded also.

“The people of Ewena being the less powerful of the two, demanded assistance from the inhabitants of Aweer. The parties now became so exasperated, that there existed no possibility of those who had not entered into the quarrel being able to pacify them, and

the strife soon extended to Larrat, and even to the more distant Serra, where individuals influenced by family connexions took up the cause of one or the other party."

The New Zealanders, in many respects the most remarkable barbarous nation with which we are acquainted, do not yield to any other in savage ferocity; their wars are incessant, and frequently arise from the most trivial causes. A feud, which Mr. Marsden had the good fortune to reconcile just as it was about to lead to sanguinary outrages, will give a very good idea of their propensity to war on the most trivial occasion.

"When Mr. Marsden visited the neighbourhood of the Shukehanga in 1819, he found a quarrel about to commence between two of the principal chiefs—whose lands lay contiguous, and who were also, as it appeared, nearly related—in consequence of the pigs of the one having got into the sweet potato grounds of the other, who had retaliated by shooting several of them. The chief whose pigs had committed the trespass, and whom Mr. Marsden was now visiting, was an old man, apparently eighty years of age, named Warremaddoo, who had now resigned the chief authority to his son Matanghee: yet this affair rekindled all the ancient enthusiasm of the venerable warrior. The other chief was called Moodeewhy. The morning debate, at which several chiefs spoke with great force and dignity, had been suddenly interrupted; but it was resumed in the evening, when Mr. Marsden was again present. On this occasion, old Warremaddoo threw off his mat, took spear, and began to address his tribe and the chiefs. He made strong appeals to them against the injustice

and ingratitude of Moodeewhy's conduct towards them—recited many injuries which he and his tribe had suffered from Moodeewhy for a long period,—mentioned instances of his bad conduct in the time that his father's bones were removed from the Aboodu Pa to their family vault,—stated acts of kindness which he had shewn to Moodeewhy at different times,—and said that he had twice saved his tribe from total ruin. In the present instance, Moodeewhy had killed three of his hogs. Every time he mentioned his loss, the recollection seemed to nerve afresh his aged sinews; he shook his hoary beard, stamped with indignant rage, and poised his quivering spear. He exhorted his tribe to be bold and courageous, and declared that he would lead them in the morning against the enemy, and rather than submit, he would be killed and eaten. All that they wanted was firmness and courage; he knew well the enemies they had to meet—their hearts did not lie deep; and if they were resolutely opposed, they would yield. His oration continued nearly an hour, and all listened to him with great attention. This dispute, however, partly through Mr. Marsden's intercession, who offered to give each of the indignant leaders an adze if they would make peace, was at last amicably adjusted, and the two, as the natives expressed it, *were made both alike inside*. But Mr. Marsden was a good deal surprised on observing old Warremaddoo, immediately after he had rubbed noses with Moodeewhy in token of reconciliation, begin, with his slaves, to burn and destroy the fence of the enclosure in which they were assembled, belonging to Moodeewhy, who, however, took no notice of the destruction of his pro-

perty thus going on before his face. Upon inquiry, he was told that this was done in satisfaction for a fence of the old man's, which Moodeewhy had destroyed in the first instance, and the breaking down of which had in fact given rise to the trespass. A New Zealander would hold himself guilty of a breach of the first principles of honour, if he ever made up a quarrel without having exacted full compensation for what he might conceive to be his wrongs."

When we find such trifles as a quarrel between children, the breaking down of a fence, or a trespass committed by pigs, giving rise to sanguinary wars, we can easily believe that causes for hostility must be abundant, and consequently wars incessant.

The desire of vengeance is the first, and almost the only principle, which a savage instils into the minds of his children. It grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength; and as their attention is directed to a few objects, it naturally acquires an intensity unknown in countries where the mind is occupied by a variety of avocations and pursuits. The revenge of a savage resembles the blind rage of an animal, rather than the passion of a man; it is often directed against inanimate objects,—the stone upon which he falls,—the arrow by which he is wounded,—the implement which, from his own awkwardness, has failed to accomplish his purpose. But when directed against enemies, the vengeful passions of a savage know no bounds. He neither pities, nor forgives, nor spares. The duration of his vengeance is equal to its intensity; the anecdote already quoted by the Iotan's deadly pursuit of his brother, is a fair specimen of the unrelenting vengeance displayed in savage life.

Unreflecting persons may, perhaps, be ready to conclude that when the motives for war are personal, and when the warriors act individually, we should find examples of chivalrous daring and heroic courage,—instances of gallant exploits, more ennobling than all the “pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.” No such deeds relieve the ferocity of savage warfare. Its general nature is well described in the following narrative, recorded by Theodore Irving :

“The black chief (of the Pawnee Indians) had, by some means or other, fallen into disgrace with his people. They shunned him, and refused to admit him into their councils, until by some heroic action he should wipe off the stain upon his name. He knew that there was no resource ; that the blood of an enemy would alone retrieve his fame. He determined therefore to shed it, in a manner which even the most desperate of his own tribe would not have dreamed of, and which would strike a salutary terror of his name into the hearts of his hostile neighbours.

“Early one morning, taking his bow and quiver, he left his lodge, and started on foot for the Crow village, about two hundred miles distant. He set out upon his journey without attendants, and singing his death-song. His tribe watched till he was out of sight ; they knew not where he was going ; he might return soon, in a day, in a month, and perhaps never. They knew his desperate character ; they knew that his errand was of blood ; and they doubted not that if he returned, he would bring home trophies sufficient to place him once more at the head of their councils.

“On the evening of the fourth day, he reached the

Crow village; but waited at a short distance, concealed in a prairie, until it was completely dark. He then entered the village, and passed through its very centre. Several of the inhabitants were stirring, but the darkness was so great, that they did not regard him particularly, and he passed on undetected. At length he came to a lodge a little apart from the rest, with a horse standing at the door, tied by a halter of buffalo hair. Peering over the bear-skin, which hung before the inner entrance, he beheld two Indians reclining in front of a fire. A few feet from them, a squaw was pounding corn, in a large wooden mortar; and at a little distance was a child sleeping on the floor. The backs of all were turned towards the warrior, and he hesitated a moment how to act. Drawing forth his knife with his left hand, and grasping his tomahawk in his right, he dashed into the building. With two blows he clove the skulls of the men; he sheathed his knife in the heart of the woman, and dashed out the brains of the child. Having scalped his victims, he mounted the horse at the door and started off. He had gone but a few paces, before he observed an Indian making for the lodge. He felt a strong hankering after his scalp also; but there were several other Indians at hand, and he feared detection. Resisting therefore the powerful temptation, he turned away, and galloped for the prairie. Scarcely had he got clear of the village, when it rang with yells and screams; and in a few minutes he heard the clattering of hoofs, and the sound of voices, in hot pursuit. In a night chase, however, the pursued has always the advantage; he has but to dash forward, while his foes must either stop to keep

his trace, or follow at random. So it was with the black chief; and long before morning, his horse had borne him beyond the sound of pursuit.

“He reached his village in safety; related his tale, and displayed his scalps. They hesitated not a moment to believe him; for in recounting his exploits an Indian never lies. He was received with honour, and once more resumed his place in the councils of his nation.

“This is a picture of Indian warfare—to steal like an assassin upon an unarmed enemy, and butcher him without the slightest chance of resistance. Blood is what he seeks—no matter whether from the veins of man or woman, infancy or age. A scalp is his trophy; and is alike glorious, whether silvered with age, or torn from the reeking head of a youthful warrior. With the savage, a hankering for blood is ambition; a relentless fury in shedding it, renown.”

In his description of the Iotan, the most favourable specimen of an Indian chief he had seen, Mr. Irving is again compelled to record the horrible features of savage warfare. “His countenance, though calm and grave, had a mild expression not usually met among Indians. His whole demeanour was prepossessing, and when he spoke, his voice was like soft music. He was a favourite with most of the wild traders in that part of the country, on account of his generous character. If a stranger entered the village, he was the first to welcome him to his lodge, and to protect him from the insults of the meaner spirits of his nation. Yet even with this chivalrous nature, he was an Indian warrior; and an Indian warrior is little better than a murderer. He had counted as many scalps as any of his nation; but

those of hoary age, of the woman and the child, were hanging in the smoke of his lodge, in companionship with those of the war-worn warrior."

Baron Meyendorff's narrative of his journey from Orenburgh to Bokhara, published some years ago at the expense of the Russian government, contains many striking illustrations of the barbarity displayed in the wars between the wild tribes of Central Asia. As the book is little known, we shall translate a short extract, omitting some details unfit for publication.

"I saw several examples of the inhumanity of the Kirghíz, one particularly attracted my attention. Several of those who accompanied us, having imagined that they recognised in a beggar, a person who had been engaged in the plunder of their horde, seized his horse and clothes, tied his hands behind his back, and would have cut off his head, only for the interference of the chief. The mendicant was released, but he had great difficulty in escaping from the injuries and insults with which he was overwhelmed.

"I was witness to another scene, still more illustrative of their ferocity. The sultan, Harún Ghazí, who accompanied us, sent on some hundreds of his men in advance, who, without our knowledge attacked the *aoul* (village) of the sultan Manem-beg Janghazé, one of his enemies, attached to the party of the Khan of Khiva. The prudent Manem-beg, forewarned in time of his adversary's intentions, had escaped; but his wives, his brother Yakash, and all his flocks, became the prey of the Kirghíz of Harún Ghazí. We saw them near the *Sir-deria* (the ancient Juxartes). The flocks were driven to Bokhara; and the women, lodged in three

tents, were exposed to the brutality of the brothers of the Sultan. . . . The Kirghíz, so far from pitying their fate, spoke of it as a good joke. 'It is the conqueror's right,' said they, 'and no one can gainsay it.'—Yakash, guarded by five Kirghíz, followed Harún Ghazí, mounted on the worst horse that could be found. Unfortunately, Yakash had, some months before, acted as a guide to a party of Khivians, who had pillaged the *aoul* of Harún Ghazí. The poor young man was about twenty-two years of age, handsome and finely formed; but now, foreseeing the fate that awaited him, he was cast down and broken in spirit.

"An old Kirghíz went up to the Sultan and said to him—'my children were massacred during the late incursion of the Khivians; Yakash was their destroyer; God and man ordain that I should avenge their death.' Harún Ghazí was constrained to deliver up the captive though he was his cousin-german, and the young man's fate was decided. The old Kirghíz came behind Yakash, who was on horseback, and fired at him but missed him. In an instant the other Kirghíz threw themselves on the unfortunate man, stripped off his dress for fear of soiling it, and, deaf to the prayers of the victim, cut his throat as mercilessly as if he were a sheep, with one of the small knives which they usually carry about them; they then spurned his corpse, and gashed it with their lances, to glut their rage against this unfortunate young man."

The treatment of captives is one of the most revolting features in savage warfare, and it is the custom which has most obstinately been maintained, in spite of the exertions of missionaries. When the Jesuits

first undertook the conversion of the Canadian Indians, they honourably exerted themselves to lessen the horrors of the incessant wars they witnessed, but in general they found that they only exposed themselves to danger, without effecting anything in favour of the unhappy victim. We shall quote one of their narratives, from the old English translation; simply premising that the war to which it refers had commenced long before that part of America was visited by any European nation.

“One day, the Hurons having advantage in a skirmish, made an Iroquois chief captive, and he was brought to one of the Huron villages, where the Jesuit fathers were assembled. No sooner was he arrived than it was decreed in an assembly of the ancient savages that he should be presented to one of their old chiefs, to replace his nephew, who had been killed in war, or to be disposed of as he should think proper. Brebeuf, one of the Jesuits, immediately resolved to convert him to Christianity. The captive was clothed in a new beaver habit, and his temples were circled with a kind of diadem. He was surrounded by a troop of triumphant warriors, and seemed to be quite unconcerned at his fate. When Brebeuf approached him, he perceived that he had been tortured even before his fate was determined. One of his hands had been crushed between two flints, and had lost a finger. His other hand had lost two, which had been cut off by a hatchet. The joints of his arms had been burned, and a great gash appeared on one of them. All this had been inflicted on the poor wretch before he entered the Huron village; for he no sooner arrived there than he

was treated with the greatest endearments, and a young woman was assigned him for his wife. Such was this barbarian's situation when he was converted by Brebeuf; and he is esteemed to be the first adult convert that ever was made of the Iroquois nation, being baptized by the name of Joseph.

"All this while the captive was loaded with caresses, and Brebeuf was permitted to take him to his tent every night; but his sores now became putrid and full of worms. To increase his misery, he was carried in triumph from village to village, and wherever he came he was obliged to sing, so that sometimes his voice entirely failed him; nor had he the least respite, but when he was alone with Brebeuf and the other missionaries. At last he was conveyed to the village where the chief lived who was to decide upon his fate. The captive presented himself with a perfectly unconcerned air to his supposed uncle, who, after surveying him, talked to him in the following strain: 'Nephew, you cannot imagine the joy I conceived, when I understood that you were to supply the place of him I have lost; I had already prepared a mat for you in my cabin, and it was with the utmost satisfaction that I resolved to pass the rest of my days with you in peace: but the condition in which I see you, forces me to alter my resolution. It is plain that the pains and tortures you endure must render your life insupportable to yourself, and you must think that I do you a service in abridging its course. Those who have mangled you in this manner have caused your death. Take courage, therefore, my dear nephew, prepare yourself this evening to shew you are a man, and that you are superior to the force of

torments.'—The captive heard this discourse with the greatest indifference, and only answered with a resolute voice that it was well. The sister of the deceased then served him with victuals, and caressed him in the most affectionate manner, while the old chieftain put his own pipe into his mouth, with the most tender demonstrations of parental love. Towards noon, the captive, at the expense of his supposed uncle, made his funeral feast, and while the inhabitants of the village were assembled around him, he harangued them as follows: 'Brethren, I am about to die; divert yourselves boldly around me; be convinced that I am a man, and that I neither fear death, nor any torture you can inflict.' He then began a song, in which he was joined by the warriors who were present. He was then presented with victuals, and when the feast was ended he was carried to the place of execution, which is called the cabin of blood (or, heads cut off), and always belongs to the head of the village. About eight o'clock in the evening, all the savages of the village being assembled, the young men who were to be executioners of the tragedy, forming the first row round the prisoner, were ordered by one of their infernal elders to behave well, meaning thereby to put him to the most excruciating tortures. The prisoner was then seated on a mat, where his hands were tied, and then rising, he danced round the cabin, singing his death song all the time, and then replaced himself upon the mat. One of the elders then took from him his robe, which he said was destined for a chief whom he named, adding that such a village was to cut off his head, and that another should have his arm, with part of his body, for a feast. Father Brebeuf

having vainly interceded for mercy, receiving no reply, but threats of a like fate if he continued to interfere, encouraged the victim to suffer with the sentiments of Christianity, which he did with the most surprising firmness, without dropping the least reproachable word. He even talked of the affairs of his nation with as much indifference as if he had been at home with his family. Eleven fires had been kindled to torment him ; and the elders said it was of consequence that he should be alive at sun rising, for which reason his tortures were prolonged to that time, when the barbarians, fearing that he would expire without iron (another of their barbarous superstitions), carried him out of the village, and cut off one of his feet, a hand, and his head, which were disposed of as proposed, while his body was thrown into a cauldron."

It would be easy to multiply anecdotes of the execrable tortures inflicted by the Indians on their prisoners, but there is a horrid sameness in all the narratives, which renders the task repulsive and disgusting. There is, however, a still more revolting practice connected with the subject, on which a few words must be said,—cannibalism, the feeding on human flesh, is found in most barbarous tribes ; a practice so revolting to our nature, that its existence anywhere was denied, until it was established by irrefragable evidence.

We find in every part of the New World, on the continent and in the islands, entire communities, tribes, and nations, remarkable for this practice. It prevailed in both the Americas, in the Oceanic Archipelago, and in many of the clusters of Polynesia. Even where circumstances had abolished the practice, traces of its

former existence were preserved in the language. "Let us go and eat that nation," was the phrase by which the Iroquois announced their purpose of making war, though they had ceased to be cannibals before they became known to Europeans. It subsisted in the comparatively civilized empire of Mexico, and relics of it were discovered among the mild inhabitants of Peru. In New Zealand, the eating of human flesh is not merely an excess of occasional revenge, but is actually a luxurious gratification of appetite. Sir Stamford Raffles has given a more complete account of the cannibalism practised by the Battas, an extensive and populous nation of Sumatra, than we possess of the practice among any other people, and we shall therefore extract a portion of the account from his letter to Mr. Marsden.

"I have found all you say on the subject of cannibalism more than confirmed. I do not think you have even gone far enough. You might have broadly stated that it is not only the custom to eat the victim, but to eat him alive. I shall pass over the particulars of all previous information which I have received, and endeavour to give you, in a few words, the result of a deliberate inquiry from the Batta chiefs of Tappanooly. I caused the most intelligent to be assembled, and in the presence of Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack, obtained the following information, of the truth of which none of us have the least doubt.

"It is the universal and standing law of the Battas that death by eating shall be inflicted in the following cases:—1st, for adultery; 2nd, for midnight robbery; 3rd, in wars of importance, that is to say, one district

against another, the prisoners are sacrificed; 4th, for intermarrying in the same tribe, which is forbidden, from the circumstance of their having ancestors in common; and, 5th, for treacherous attacks on a house, village, or person.

“In all the above cases it is lawful for the victims to be eaten; and they are eaten alive, that is to say, they are not previously put to death. The victim is tied to a stake, with his arms extended, the party collect in a circle around him, and the chief gives the order to commence eating. The chief enemy, when he is a prisoner, or the chief party injured in other cases, has the first selection; and after he has cut off his slice, others cut off pieces, according to their taste and fancy, until all the flesh is devoured.

“It is either eaten raw or grilled, and generally dipped in *sambul* (a preparation of Chili pepper and salt), which is always in readiness. Rajah Bandaharra, a Batta, and one of the chiefs of Tappanooly, asserted that he was present at a festival of this kind, about eight years ago, at the village of Subluan, on the other side of the bay, not nine miles distant, where the head may still be seen.

“When the party is a prisoner taken in war, he is eaten immediately, and upon the spot. Whether dead or alive he is equally eaten, and it is usual even to drag the bodies from their graves, and after disinterring them, to eat the flesh. This only in cases of war.

“From the clear and concurring testimony of all parties, it is certain that it is the practice not to kill the victim till the whole of the flesh cut off by the party is eaten, should he live so long; the chief or

party injured then comes forward, and carries home the head, which he preserves as a trophy. Within the last three years there have been two instances of this kind of punishment within ten miles of Tappanooly, and the heads are still preserved.

“In cases of adultery, the injured party usually takes the ear or ears; but the ceremony is not allowed to take place, except the wife’s relations are present and partake of it.

“In these and other cases, where the criminal is directed to be eaten, he is secured and kept for two or three days, till every person (that is to say, males) is assembled. He is then eaten quietly and in cold blood, with as much ceremony, and perhaps more than attends the execution of a capital sentence in Europe.

“The bones are scattered abroad after the flesh has been eaten, and the head alone preserved. The brains belong to the chief or injured party, who usually preserves them in a bottle for the purposes of charms, witchcraft, etc. They do not eat the bowels, but like the heart; and many drink the blood from bamboos. The palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet, are the delicacies of epicures.

“Horrid and diabolical as these practices may appear, it is no less true, that they are the results of much deliberation among the parties; and seldom, except in the case of prisoners of war, the effect of immediate and private revenge. In all cases of crimes, the party has a regular trial, and no punishment can be inflicted until sentence is regularly and formally passed in the public fair. Here the chiefs of the neighbouring kampong assemble, hear the evidence, and deliberate upon the

crime and probable guilt of the party; when condemned, the sentence is ratified by the chiefs drinking the tuah or toddy, which is final, and may be considered equivalent to signing and sealing with us.

“I was very particular in my inquiries whether the assembly were intoxicated on occasion of these punishments. I was assured it was never the case. The people take rice with them and eat it with the meat, but no tuah is allowed. The punishment is always inflicted in public.

“The men alone are allowed to partake, as the flesh of man is prohibited to women (probably from an apprehension that they might become too fond of it). The flesh is not allowed to be carried away from the spot, but must be consumed at the time.

“I am assured that the Battas are more attached to these laws than the Mohammedans are to the Koran, and that the number of the punishments is very considerable. My informants considered that there could not be less than fifty or sixty men eaten in a year, and this in times of peace; but they were unable to estimate the true extent, considering the great population of the country; they were confident, however, that these laws were strictly enforced, wherever the name of Batta was known; and that it was only in the immediate vicinity of our settlements that they were modified and neglected. For proof, they referred me to every Batta in the vicinity, and to the number of skulls to be seen in every village, each of which was from a victim of the kind.

“With regard to the relish with which the parties devour the flesh; it appeared, that independent of the desire of revenge, which may be supposed to exist

among the principals, about one half of the people eat it with a relish, and speak of it with delight; the other half, though present, may not partake. Human flesh is, however, generally considered preferable to cow or buffalo beef, or hog, and was admitted to be so, even by my informants.

"Adverting to the possible origin of this practice, it was observed, that formerly they ate their parents when too old for work; this, however, is no longer the case, and thus a step has been gained in civilization.

"It is admitted, that the parties may be redeemed for a pecuniary compensation, but this is entirely at the option of the chief enemy or injured party, who, after his sentence is passed, may either have his victim eaten, or he may sell him for a slave; but the law is, that he shall be eaten, and the prisoner is entirely at the mercy of his prosecutor.

"The laws by which these sentences are inflicted, are too well known to require reference to books, but I am promised some MS accounts which relate to the subject. These laws are called *huhum pinang an*—from *depang an*, to eat—law or sentence to eat.

"I could give you many more details, but the above may be sufficient to shew that our friends, the Battas, are even worse than you have represented them, and that those who are still sceptical have yet more to learn."

The practice of cannibalism, in New Zealand, has been established by the concurrent testimony of all who have visited the country. Those who have had opportunities for close examination, inform us that the revolting practice appears to have originated in the

superstitious belief, that those who partook of the banquet would imbibe some portion of the heroism for which the deceased was distinguished. This explanation only applies to those who have been slain in battle, but it is the custom with the New Zealanders to kill and eat their slaves. It is probable, however, that the slaves are offered as sacrifices, and that feeding upon them is an act of homage to the *manes* of a chief, or to an idol. But however this may be, nothing is more certain, than that a depraved and unnatural appetite, when once formed, has a tendency, not only to continue, but to increase. This is notoriously the case with the dirt-eaters of the West Indies, and in a similar instance, which came within the author's knowledge. A young girl, about nine years of age, contracted a habit of chewing cinders; she had indulged it for some time before she was discovered, and then every possible effort was made to cure her of it. The utmost watchfulness failed, and she died a victim to her depraved appetite. A friend, whose name I am not at liberty to mention, has favoured me with notes of a conversation with a man, who, under pressure of famine at sea, had eaten a part of one of his companions. He declared, that the feeling of disgust disappeared at the second or third meal, and did not return during the five days that the crew were reduced to this horrid fare. He added, that after the lapse of many years, he never thought upon the subject without finding desire strangely mixed with loathing; and finally, that it was this instinctive feeling which rendered him most reluctant to allude to the subject.

War, as we have seen, is more frequent among savage than civilized nations; it is also more sanguinary and

more ferocious, and it is utterly destitute of those redeeming features which throw its horrors into the shade. There is no heroism, no spirit of chivalry, no high and noble daring ; there is nothing but cruelty in the victor, and misery for the vanquished.

War is not to be regarded as always an unmixed evil : it is the consequence of the essential diversity of the elements of humanity ; its root is inherent in the very nature of the ideas in which the existence of different nations is founded ; for these ideas being necessarily partial, bounded and exclusive, are necessarily hostile, aggressive and tyrannical. In the first quarrel on record—that between Cain and Abel—there was a diversity of occupation, and consequently a diverse development of the elements of human nature. “Abel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain a tiller of the ground.” Hostility between these occupations, on a larger scale, meets us in the earliest pages of history. The agriculturists settled in the valley of the Nile, felt that the wandering tribes of Arabia and Palestine were their natural enemies : “every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians,” they would not eat at the same table with Hebrews, that is, with nomade tribes, as the name properly signifies.

The diversity of elements is necessary to life, and war is, to a certain extent, a necessary manifestation of that life. The combats of parties within a given constitution, constitute the political life of a people. The same is the case with its external relations. “The conflicts with each other,” says Victor Cousins, “of the nations of an epoch, constitute the life of an epoch : none has passed off without war ; none could.

War is nothing else than a bloody exchange of ideas made at the point of the sword, and at the cannon's mouth; a battle is nothing but the conflict of error and truth:—I say of truth; for in a given epoch, a minor error is truth in comparison with a greater error, or with any error that has served its time; victory and conquest are but the victory of the truth of to-day over the truth of yesterday, which to-day has become an error."

But this view of war, philosophically just when applied to the contests of civilized nations—that is, nations in a state of progress—cannot be extended to the conflicts of barbarous tribes. In savage warfare, passion is arrayed against passion, and it is quite indifferent who shall be gainer; in civilized contests idea is opposed to idea, and in the long run the victory must be on the side of humanity.

Let it not be imagined that this reasoning is an advocacy of war; on the contrary, we believe that as civilization advances, the collision of ideas between nations will lead only to discussions; the change that has taken place in the internal conflicts of parties, that is, the collision of ideas within the limits of a constitution, justifies such an expectation. In the reign of Charles I. hostile parties met on the field of battle and slaughtered each other; in that of Charles II. they met in courts of justice, and hanged each other; the sword and rope were both employed, but to a less extent than formerly at the Revolution. On the accession of the Brunswick dynasty, Walpole was anxious to send the lords Oxford and Bolingbroke to the scaffold, and at a later period Pulteney meditated the same fate for

Walpole. At present the leaders of parties are content to see each other enjoy life and estate in quiet.

Nor are there wanting signs of this pacific spirit extending to the discussion of national relations. The Belgic question brought into direct collision the most angry passions, and the most opposite ideas, that ever set Europe in a flame. It has been terminated by shedding ink instead of blood, and by a lavish use of red-tape instead of red-coats.

Civilization finds war, like all other elements of humanity, necessarily existing. It does not create the principle, but it controls and modifies its action. Horror after horror is swept away; the captive ceases to be sent to the stake or the cauldron; slavery becomes an improvement substituted for murder; the enslaved captives are treated with more and more kindness, until servitude ceases altogether and prisoners of war are recognised as men and brothers. The onward course of civilization is at least, in this respect, distinctly marked; we can see the direction of its progress: an intelligent and moral public opinion is steadily establishing its empire, instead of brute force, and forming a tribunal to decide the disputes of nations, as peacefully as those of individuals. Ideas are only hostile when they are exclusive; there never was, and there never can be, a contest between absolute truth on one side, and absolute error on the other; all the struggles of nations, or parties, recorded in history, are conflicts between partial truths. But it must be remembered that a partial truth is even a more dangerous error than an absolute falsehood; just as Homer declares that a fog is better for a thief than night.

Civilization, as it advances, removes the partiality and exclusiveness which, in every human opinion, is the element of falsehood; truths deemed to be hostile are then found to dovetail into each other, and to form part of a general stock of intelligence in which there is no further room for conflict or collision. We see this process going on around us; we see it operating on individuals, sects, political parties and nations;—it is yet far from complete—its progress is impeded by many natural and by many artificial causes; but its final process is certain. “Men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

“The commerce between different nations,” says Archbishop Whately, “which is both an effect and cause of national wealth, tends to lessen their disposition to war by making them mutually dependent. Many wars indeed have been occasioned by commercial jealousy; but it will be found, that in almost every instance this has arisen, on one side, if not on both, from unsound views of political economy, which have occasioned the general interests of the community, to a very great amount, to be sacrificed, for a much smaller advantage, to a few individuals. The ruinous expensiveness also of war (which will never be adequately estimated till the spread of civilization shall have gained general admission for just views of political economy) would alone, if fairly computed, be almost sufficient to banish war from the earth.”

CHAPTER VII.

INDIGENCE.

"THE poor you have always with you:" indigence is the most prominent, and perhaps the most important evil of the social system; misery is most striking when it is in close contact with luxury; and it is to the violent contrasts which society frequently presents that we must ascribe the fantastic visions of a golden age which have so often misled the imagination of philanthropists. Indigence, like crime, exists in every state of society; but as a vigilant police, increasing the number of detections, has often led people to believe that there was an actual increase of guilt, so the exertions of the benevolent to relieve distress have sometimes created a mistaken opinion respecting the gradual accumulation of misery. There is a tendency in the human mind to confound the discovery of anything with the commencement of its existence: this is observable even in physical science; several of the opponents of Sir Isaac Newton attacked him, as if he had framed the laws of gravitation, instead of detecting them; and many of the modern adversaries of geology write as if they believed that Lyell, Sedgwick, and Buckland had themselves arranged the strata, disposed the fossil remains, and traced the limits that regulate the geographical distribution of animals. A quaint old writer says, "nobody will give anybody the credit of

first discovering what everybody might have found out at any time."

We have seen that society exists naturally and necessarily; there must consequently be certain laws of social existence; and if their conditions remain unfulfilled, either through accident or design, social suffering is the inevitable consequence. But it is only as society becomes civilized that it takes cognizance of the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of these conditions; and hence we find, that at every epoch when a great advance was made in intelligence, a number of social evils, before undiscovered, were brought into view, and treated by many as if they had been brought into existence. Ecclesiastical corruptions were certainly neither greater nor more numerous at the era of the Reformation than they were in the preceding century, but in the increased light of that time they were more clearly seen, more closely watched, and more diligently recorded. British liberty and the constitutional privileges of the legislature were more respected by the Stuarts than they were by the Tudors, yet the number of recorded violations is far greater under the former than under the latter dynasty. Actions for false imprisonment were far more numerous after the Revolution than before it, though illegal arrests had notoriously diminished. In the same way the science of political economy having for the first time revealed the nature and extent of indigence as a social evil, the subject excited universal attention, and led many to believe that an evil of such magnitude must have recently come into existence, or at least must have only of late days reached its present extent, or else it would have been long since discovered.

Some disastrous results have followed from this error; a cry of alarm was raised about the rapid extension of pauperism. Europe was supposed to be menaced by a new *Jacquerie*, or rather by a social revolution, infinitely worse than that threatened by Jacques Bonhomme, or Jack Cade. Landlords, in their excited imaginations, saw their estates invaded,—capitalists, their fortunes rent in sunder,—and manufacturers their machinery destroyed, by millions of paupers, whose numbers, in their opinion had increased, were increasing, and could not be diminished. A change of system, in relation to pauperism, was demanded, for the sake of the rich. This error on one side led to a more dangerous error on the other. The poor were induced to believe that the wealth of the rich was derived from their misery,—they deemed that the accumulation of property was the cause of poverty; they began to speculate on the possibility of reconstructing society on a different basis; and they were easily persuaded to regard measures proposed for the prevention of poverty, or at least for the limitation of its extent, as disguised attempts for the degradation, or even for the extermination of paupers. Thus the evil, instead of being viewed in its general relations to society, was regarded only in reference to classes. The ideas formed of it were consequently partial and exclusive,—what was true of pauperism in its most limited relation to a class, was taken to be true in its widest relation to the entire community; and such confusion between relative and absolute truth, is the source of all the mischievous falsehoods that have ever predominated over humanity.

Though nothing can be clearer, on the slightest

examination, than the aphorism, that whatever makes the rich man richer tends also to elevate the poor, and whatever makes the poor man poorer tends equally to depress the rich ; there are, unfortunately, many impediments to the universal reception of this truth, and there is, perhaps, no greater difficulty presented to the advocates of civilization and the progress of society, than that arising from the prevalent errors on the subject of indigence. A rigorous examination of the acknowledged evil is therefore necessary; and though a complete analysis would greatly exceed our limits, we trust that we shall be able to offer some considerations which may tend to quiet the alarms of the friends of humanity, and remove some of the suspicions attached to the advance of civilization.

It is obvious that there are various degrees of indigence ; there is only one stage in which it has an aspect of uniformity—the complete and absolute destitution of all means of subsistence at the same instant. But this stage is equivalent to death ; such a state may exist, but it cannot continue to exist ; its conditions include, in their terms, immediate extinction. Hence arises the common sophism, that indigence is unknown in savage life : with the savage indigence is death ; it begins and ends at the same moment. An unfavourable season—a deficiency in the supply of game—a flood, or a drought—may assail any land : in the civilized country, the calamity is marked by much suffering ; in the savage land, it leaves no trace but bleaching bones and unburied corpses. In spite of Mr. Carlile's bitter attack upon statisticians, the fact that the average duration of human life has been sensibly increased by

the progress of civilization, is an unquestionable proof that cases of absolute indigence, that is, of sheer starvation, have been diminished.

Relief, for cases of absolute indigence, must come from a reserved fund, accumulated somewhere. It may be a question in civilized states whether this fund be sufficient or insufficient, but in savage life no such thing exists. It is a common mistake to suppose that capital is accumulated exclusively for the benefit of its possessor; but it is easy to shew that capitalists are essential to the well-being of the entire community. Every bad harvest would necessarily generate a famine, unless there were a fund to purchase supplies of food from other countries; every suspension of demand for the productions of any branch of industry, would be followed by a cessation of employment in that branch, if the capitalist had not a fund on which he could fall back until the market changed. Capital is the security against indigence, belonging not merely to the capitalist himself, but to every labourer in the community. There is no poverty where there is no capital, because death acts as relieving officer, and the tomb is the sole refuge for the destitute.

The case of absolute indigence requires no further examination; but when we come to examine the degrees of relative indigence, we find our path beset by unexpected difficulties. It is generally agreed that indigence consists in a want of the necessaries of life; it is far from being agreed what are the things necessary to existence, for it is notorious that what in one age or country would be considered extreme poverty, might in a different age or country be regarded as comparative luxury.

An aboriginal Australian is satisfied with a condition which the most miserable mendicant in Europe would regard with horror: he supports hunger, thirst, and pain, to an extent which passes our comprehension; he eats with delight what we could not name without disgust. Indigence then may be said to be, to a certain extent, created by civilization, for civilization unquestionably multiplies human wants. Relative indigence, or, as it is commonly called, poverty or pauperism, is measured by its proportion to the general estimate of average comforts formed in any given age or country. The condition which might be considered opulent in nomade life, becomes almost disastrous in societies enriched by all the gifts of industry. The Arab is satisfied with a bowl of milk and a handful of dates; our Saxon ancestors dwelt in cabins to which we should not entrust our horses; the respectable citizens of the Middle Ages were worse clothed, lodged and fed, than many of those receiving parochial relief in our towns.

Let not this change be attributed merely to the progress of luxury, or to the increased effeminacy of manners; it has far more noble causes. Human existence is developed and extended by civilization: man lives not only physically, but morally, socially, and intellectually, as he advances by progressive improvement. It is because his life is enlarged that the wants of his life are increased. His taste becomes more refined, his sensations more delicate, his position more dignified. His moral necessities react on his physical necessities; there are wants created by opinion which do honour to those who feel them, and which are not less entitled to the attention of those who have the

power of satisfying them, than the cries of thirst or the clamours of hunger.

Mr. Carlile, in his recent work on Chartism, has denounced those who dwell upon the fact that the increased duration of human life proves an increase in the comforts of the poor. His censure would be just, if statisticians used such an argument for stopping at the point to which we have attained; but, on the contrary, they invariably urge it as a motive for increased exertion. They do not say because society has done this it need do no more,—but because society has done so much it has the power of doing more; its former success is not only a motive, but a positive obligation to perseverance. If civilization had not done something for the benefit of humanity, it would scarcely be fair to expect any advantages from its progress. If science never wrought any improvement in society, it is not easy to understand why it should ever be called to an account for neglect. The statistician does not deny poverty to be an evil, he merely asserts that it is not so fatal an evil as it used to be. He does not aver that one meal a day is a comfortable subsistence, but he does aver that one meal is better than none at all. The forms of disease may be multiplied, and yet the actual mortality of a country be diminished, and the phases of poverty may increase, without adding to the cases of sheer destitution.

Indigence, in a civilized country, is the result of a failure to fulfil the conditions imposed upon social existence. Undoubtedly these conditions are more onerous in proportion to the advance of the state in civilization, but the means of fulfilling them are at least

equally multiplied. There is a self-adjusting power in society, the working of which becomes more perfect as knowledge advances, which strikes the balance between what is demanded and what can possibly be supplied. When Lord Falkland was dressing, preparatory to the battle of Newbury, his friends expressed astonishment at his indulging in the luxury of a clean shirt; a private soldier, of the present day, would be censured for leaving his linen unchanged. The peasants of England, two centuries ago, like those of Ireland in the present day, went about with bare feet; but an English beggar of modern times is rarely seen without shoes and stockings. The existence which we call miserable, our ancestors would have deemed luxurious, for we have established conditions to social existence of which they never dreamed.

There is unfortunately some necessity for dwelling upon this painful subject: science has been too often represented as the enemy of the poor, political economy has been too recently described as a system for excusing starvation, and civilization itself branded as the creator of social misery, by philosophers of too much note, for us to pass over the topic lightly. Let us then examine a few of the new conditions imposed on social existence almost within our own memory, and see whether society has not provided means for their fulfilment. All the cares and toils connected with decency and cleanliness are fortunately in our country reckoned among the first conditions of existence, even in the lowest ranks of society, though in other lands, and in ours at no very distant date, they were disregarded as superfluities even by the higher orders.

But has civilization—or has science, the exponent of civilization—while it imposed the conditions, neglected to supply means for their fulfilment? The experience even of the very young can answer in the negative. Look to the paving, lighting, and cleansing of our streets; to the improvements made in drainage, sewerage, and ventilation. If society has required that the present class of labourers should be better dressed than their ancestors, it has also enabled them to procure the better clothes with a less amount of labour than their forefathers were compelled to bestow on the purchase of inferior raiment.

Society does not injure any class by imposing these conditions on life; it is idle to say that wants created by habit or opinion are factitious. Existence becomes more valuable as it becomes more complex; when man rises beyond mere physical life, he is worth more to society and more to himself than he was before. Society gains, and he gains all the difference. The fact that indigence is less fatal, does not prove that it is more tolerable to the sufferer; on the contrary the extension of surface over which his life ranges, presents a proportionate extension of sensibility to external pressure. Hence the indigent derive two advantages from civilization: their condition is in itself actually better, and their minor sufferings are more urgent in their claims for relief, and far more certain of commanding attention than the greater misery of the uncivilized. Millions might perish of famine in ancient Hindústan, without exciting so much sympathy from their countrymen as the death of a single English pauper from the neglect of the relieving officers.

The subject of indigence would lead to much longer discussion, not perhaps devoid of utility, but enough has been said to shew that its existence is not as has been sometimes said, the opprobrium of civilization. The source of the error is, that relative has been confounded with absolute indigence. The average of comforts enjoyed by the independent labourer, one who is merely a labourer and not an artisan, furnishes in every age and country the limit below which indigence commences. It is not an evil that this should be a pretty high standard. Society may to a certain extent rejoice when it sees the circle of individual wants spreading. These wants become new impulses to industry, new incentives to activity and emulation; as man's faculties are more fully developed, man's life acquires a higher price, his worth is more fully appreciated by society or the state. This increase of value is shewn in two ways; there is more care in seeing that he has the means of existence, and far more caution in taking away life. It is not very long ago since a man's life was valued at forty shillings, in a dwelling-house, or at the price of a sheep in a field. Human life has since risen considerably; the progress of society has rendered the members of society more valuable, and the state cannot afford to sell life on such cheap terms.

So far is civilization then from being an enemy of the poor, that it is in civilized states alone that the poor receive any consideration. So far is science from crushing the indigent, that it is to it, the indigent owe whatever little proportion of comforts they may possess. The progress of knowledge is beneficial to all classes; but those who must profit most by it, are the great

mass of the working population. As knowledge advances, their sufferings for the first time become known not only to others but to themselves; the revelation of the evil, is itself a great step towards the remedy; it is a sad error to suppose that there is no misery in a country where the cry of misery is not heard, for in such a land silence is merely an aggravation of wretchedness.

We might extend this reasoning, and shew that benevolence, the recognised compensation for indigence, is the child of civilization. There are no hospitals, no dispensaries, no houses of refuge in a savage land. There may be, indeed there are, occasional exhibitions of individual good feeling: the Arab may offer the way-worn traveller the hospitality of his tent, and the Indian afford a stranger the shelter of his wigwam; but these examples of instinctive yielding to the softer feelings of the human heart cannot with any propriety be called benevolence, and are no more an adequate substitute for it than the meteoric flashes of an autumnal night are substitutes for the steady light of the celestial luminaries. As those flashes leave the night darker and the sky more gloomy, so do the actions of blind, instinctive, and indiscriminate charity, often end in aggravating the evils of poverty and deepening the horrors of misery. Benevolence, to be advantageous, must be scientific—that is, it must be based on knowledge and experience; savages are too lazy to acquire the knowledge, and too conceited to profit by the experience, but we cannot blame them severely for such neglect when we meet so many instances of the same ignorance, resulting from indolence and pride, even in advanced stages of civilization.

But it is said, that as civilization advances there is an increasing tendency to treat poverty as a crime. Undoubtedly this is a matter on which some dangerous errors have been allowed to prevail. There have been times when legislators have yielded to the prevalent alarms about the increasing numbers of the poor, and adopted rules, the policy and justice of which were equally questionable. Indigence has been made to bear the blame of more crimes than it has a right to support, as is at once evident from the fact, that crimes are at a maximum between the ages of twenty-five and thirty, which is precisely the period of life when indigence is at a minimum.

But if we have reason to censure the aberrations of undue severity on one side, we have infinitely more reason to bewail the errors of unenlightened charity on the other. Without going so far as some have done, and asserting that all the evils of humanity have been wrought with the best intentions, we cannot disguise the fact that far more mischief has been wrought by well-meaning ignorance than by premeditated malice. There is responsible as well as irresponsible indigence: when society has fixed conditions, and provided means for their fulfilment, it has a right to demand an account of the causes of failure. It must, however, be confessed, that the most rigid moralist is often at a loss to distinguish between a crime and a misfortune; there are probably few indigent persons who have not to reproach themselves, either with faults or imprudence; and there are probably just as few who have not met with reverses which no human foresight could predict, and no human exertions could prevent. We must

further remark, that the failings which for the most part entail the heaviest social sufferings, are precisely those which the moralist is most ready to pardon. "Taking no thought for the morrow," is the most pregnant source of the misery for which the individuals may be regarded as responsible. Apathetic indolence has produced more misery than criminal passion. In the confusion of ignorance this apathy has been sometimes set down in the catalogue of virtues, and dignified with the name of "content;" and to this error Miss Edgeworth alludes, when she wishes that the peasants of Ireland should become discontented.

Animal contentment is quite a different thing from the moral and philosophical feeling properly called content. The former is mere apathy and sluggish inertness; the latter is the result of mental exertion—the conclusion of a laborious intellectual process: it is not inconsistent with continued toil, for it does not satisfy desire; its proper end and aim are merely to appease complaint. In truth, the man who is really contented, is precisely the person most likely to make exertions for improving his condition, because he is the most removed from the two great causes of indolence, apathy, and despair. So far as limited experience may be received as an authority, it seems to prove that the most energetic are also the most contented; they calculate that a certain amount of comforts will be produced by exertion, and if disappointed in their expectations, they still look forward to supplying the deficiency by fresh exertions. Moral content can only exist where there is a proper estimate of means and ends; it is a feeling generated by a wise judgment of

circumstances, and like all other moral feelings, circumstances must determine when its indulgence will be a virtue and when a vice. The confusion between healthy, energetic content, and sickly desponding apathy, or recklessness, is very common, and it is too often employed as an excuse for not endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of the poor, lest they should be rendered discontented; but the elevation of man's moral dignity, in any way, tends to strengthen all his moral principles, and content among the number. The desire of amelioration is not less a moral principle, than patience under afflictions; and the use of content is not to destroy, but to regulate and direct it.

It is a proof of the beneficial character of civilization, that, in every country, the errors arising from undue severity are corrected long before those resulting from the excess of charity are discovered. In the year 1530, the English parliament enacted that while the impotent poor should receive licenses from the justices of the peace to beg within certain limits, all men and women, "being whole and mighty in body, and able to labour," if found vagrant, and unable to give an account of how they get their living, shall be apprehended by the constables, tied to the tail of a cart naked, and beaten with whips through the nearest market-town or hamlet, "till their bodies be bloody by reason of such whipping." Five years afterwards it was added, that if the individual had been once already whipped, he shall not only be whipped again, but "also shall have the upper part of the gristle of his ear clean cut off, so as it may appear for a perpetual token hereafter, that he hath been a contemner of the

good order of the commonwealth." And finally, in 1562, it was directed, that any beggar convicted of being a vagabond, should, after being grievously whipped, be burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron, of the compass of an inch about, unless some person should agree to take him as a servant—of course without wages—for a year; that if he twice ran away from such master he should be adjudged a felon; and that if he ran away a third time, he should "suffer pains of death and loss of land and goods as a felon, without benefit of clergy or sanctuary."

These barbarous enactments have been long since swept from the Statute-book, but this triumph of humanity is unquestionably due to the progress of civilization; to the great discovery in social science—that indiscriminate severity defeats its own ends, and that disproportionate penalties render laws inoperative, for the simple reason that they cannot be executed.

These cruel punishments were adopted because the lawgivers failed to distinguish between responsible and irresponsible indigence: they held that every man was answerable for not fulfilling the conditions imposed on social existence, without any reference to his capabilities or opportunities. Science shewed that such a reference was necessary, and humanity was the gainer. There is little fear that such atrocious enactments should be renewed in the present day; but it is well to keep them in view, because the very same error that was the basis of indiscriminate severity is also the foundation of indiscriminate charity.

It is so common to describe those who propose that

benevolence should be regulated by science,—that is, by knowledge and experience—as enemies of the poor, that we deem it necessary to shew that such regulations are most imperatively required by the poor themselves. Let us take an example. Several years ago, a sum of money was collected in England for the relief of a certain district in the south of Ireland suffering under the pressure of severe distress. A committee was chosen to preside over its distribution. Some of the members proposed simply to purchase fuel, food, and clothing, and distribute them to every applicant according to his need.* Fortunately the majority insisted that the fund should be summarily used in providing employment proportionate to the abilities of each person capable of labour, and that gratuitous assistance should only be given in the case of actual impotence. By their influence lanes and alleys were cleansed and paved; bye-roads rendered passable; drainage, sewerage, and ventilation opened in districts where accumulated filth had long formed hot-beds of disease. Not only was immediate relief afforded, but a vast addition was made to the future comforts of the working population. And what was the reward of those who conferred such benefits on their countrymen? Barely that they were not torn to pieces for having, as it was said, intercepted the natural

* A clergyman, equally eminent for his wisdom and benevolence, (the Rev. Dr. Dickenson), furnishes a very similar example of the injurious effects of unregulated charity. "In a district," he says, "with which I am acquainted, provisions were given gratis; the people ceased to work, and became very dissatisfied. In consequence of my recommendations, articles of food, instead of being bestowed, were sold at a moderate price: the people returned to work, and were thankful."

course of charity! Many years have since elapsed, and it is doubtful if they have yet been forgiven by those who most profited by their prudence.

Indiscriminate charity, the result of ignorant benevolence, is a positive injury to the poor. This is a truth which cannot be too often nor too strongly impressed upon the public mind. Want of discrimination not only diminishes the fund from which the poor is to be supported, but it greatly increases the number of claimants. There are monasteries, at the gates of which food is indiscriminately distributed to all applicants, and the consequence is that the surrounding districts are always on the verge of starvation. "It is not money only," says Rousseau, "which the unfortunate need, and they are but sluggards in well-doing, who know to do good only when they have a purse in their hand."

Civilization constantly tends to increase the sphere of active benevolence; it enables the poor to be benevolent to the poor, for it shews how very often great good may be effected by humble means. It has been truly said, that "the benevolent are magnificent in their bounty, because they are economical in bounty itself." Science points out to those who desire to confer permanent benefits, sources of relief which escape the notice of others, however charitably disposed. The whole result of happiness produced by them seems often to have been the result of a superb munificence which few could command, when it has, in fact, been the result of a strict economy in limiting the application of the means exclusively to the end. Pope's well-known description of the "Man of Ross" affects us not

merely by the contrast between the amount of good which he effected with limited means, and the smaller amount often reached by the most costly profusion; but far more valuable and far more delightful is his foresight, and quickness of perception in discovering the varied wants that claimed relief; his ministering to every little comfort marked in the provision which he is represented as making, not for gross and obvious miseries only, but for the very ease of the traveller or common passenger.

But all our praises why should lords engross?
 Rise, honest Muse, and sing the Man of Ross!
 Pleased Vaga echoes through her winding bounds,
 And rapid Severn hoarse applause resounds.
 Who hung with woods yon mountain's sultry brow?
 From the dry rock who bade the waters flow?
 Not to the skies in useless columns tost,
 Nor in proud falls magnificently lost;
 But clear and artless, pouring through the plain,
 Health to the sick and solace to the swain.
 Whose causeway parts the vale with shady rows?
 Whose seats the wearied traveller repose?
 Who taught that heaven-directed spire to rise?—
 The Man of Ross each lisping babe replies.
 Behold the market-place with poor o'erspread!
 The Man of Ross divides the weekly bread.
 He feeds yon almshouse, neat but void of state,
 Where Age and Want sit smiling at the gate,
 Him portion'd maids, apprenticed orphans blest,
 The young who labour, and the old who rest.
 Is any sick? The Man of Ross relieves,
 Prescribes, attends, the medicine makes and gives.
 Is there a variance? enter but his door,
 Balk'd are the courts, and contest is no more.

“What is it,” says Dr. Brown, “which makes this picture of benevolence so particularly pleasing? It is

not the mere quantity of the happiness produced, even when taken in connexion with the seemingly disproportionate income,—the few hundred pounds a-year which were so nobly devoted to the production of that happiness. It is pleasing chiefly from the air of beautiful consistency that appears in so wide a variety of good; the evidence of a genuine kindness of heart, that was quick to perceive not only the great evils which force themselves upon every eye, but the little comforts also which might be administered to those, of whom the rich, even when they are disposed to extend to them the indolent succour of their alms, and sometimes, too, the more generous succour of their personal aid, are yet accustomed to think, only as sufferers who are to be kept alive, rather than as human beings who are to be made happy." We admire, indeed, the active services with which the Man of Ross distributed the weekly bread, built houses that were to be homes of repose for the aged and indigent, visited the sick, and settled amicably the controversies of neighbours and friends, who might otherwise have become foes in becoming litigants; but it is when, together with these prominent acts of obvious beneficence, we consider the acts of attention to less humbler and less obvious wants, that we feel with lively delight and confidence the kindness of a heart which, in its charitable meditations, could think of happiness as well as of misery, and foresee means of happiness which all benevolent men can produce, but which are visible only to those whose benevolence is enlightened by science, that is, by knowledge and registered experience.

Ostentatious benevolence, which seeks the applause

of crowds, has its reward: enlightened benevolence, which seeks only to be the spreader of happiness or consolation, receives only a small meed of fame, because its benefits spread over too wide an extent to be appreciated without more time and trouble than the generality of mankind is accustomed to bestow. This was so practically and usefully brought before the author when he acted as Secretary to the Statistical Section of the British Association at Liverpool, that, at the risk of a little digression, he must venture on adding another illustration.

Among the many useful Reports presented at various times to the Statistical Section of the Association, none have been more valuable and more interesting than those on the state and condition of the working classes. They have brought to light a fearful mass of evil, arising from a condition which not only tends to perpetuate indigence, but also to extend vice — namely, the dwellings of the operatives. From these reports, and from the evidence given in the subsequent discussions, it appeared that vice and indigence were produced to a fearful extent by the want of anything which could properly be called a home. The operatives were found crowded in garrets and in cellars; not only was the same room common to several families, but, in several cases, so many as five or six individuals slept in the same bed. Anything like delicacy, that great safeguard of modesty, was impossible; domestic comfort was clearly out of the question; the heads of families were driven to the alehouse by the sheer want of a place where they could sit down. It was, however, gratifying to find that efforts had been made to devise an efficient remedy.

Mr. Ashton, forty years ago, discovered the importance of a home both in a moral and economic point of view ; he erected round his factory small cottages with gardens attached, and he not only let these to his workmen on moderate terms, but encouraged them to save money for the purchase of the freehold. Very many have taken advantage of the offer, and can now call their homes their own. One simple fact will now prove the efficacy of this system of enlightened benevolence : Mr. Ashton has been forty years at the head of one of the most extensive factories in the county of Lancaster, and, during that period, there has been only one turn-out of one week among his workmen.

This systematic benevolence has produced nearly half a century of continuous good, because it was originally based on knowledge and the results of experience. The labourer and the operative must not be supposed capable of appreciating, in all cases, the general advantages of frugality ; it is necessary to set before them some incentive, some desirable means of immediate investment, and there is nothing that so strongly excites the ambition of an Englishman as the desire of possessing a home. It is of some importance to add, that this benevolence will be found not less profitable to the rich than the poor. During these debates, Mr. Shuttleworth, whose authority both as a statistician and philanthropist is deservedly great, declared that many operatives had become actual owners of their tenements on the Duke of Norfolk's property, and that this had not only raised the character of the operatives, but greatly improved the duke's estates.

The author may appear to have dwelt at rather dis-

proportionate length on this topic; but, in shewing the advantages which benevolence has derived from the progress of science and civilization, it was scarcely possible to avoid directing some attention to an element of improvement which is only just beginning to be appreciated. The physical condition of the working classes must be a primary element in every scheme for their moral improvement. There is a much closer connexion between the physical and moral condition of humanity than is generally imagined. Can we, for instance, doubt that female modesty and female virtue are inevitably perilled in the crowded lodgings that have been just described? Is it not notorious, that in every great city the worst dens of vice are found where the drainage is bad, and the supply of water is limited? The remedying of such evils, to be sure, is not likely to have the stimulus of fame; means of securing health, and comfort and cleanliness, which includes both, will not be recorded in printed reports, nor celebrated in pompous periods; but the genuine philanthropist will remember the counsel of St. Paul, "Despise not the day of small things," and will attempt to cure evil at the neglected fountain-head, leaving to others the acquisition of celebrity, by splashing the water about lower down the stream.

Civilization, then, we see has a double efficacy in reducing the amount of misery; it gives to indigence itself a milder type, and it multiplies the means and husband the resources of benevolence. The absolute amount of wretchedness is diminished, even though the number of cases and the variety of forms should be multiplied; but the remedies are increased in a

greater proportion, and their application is facilitated by a more thorough investigation of the cases.

Civilization is accused not only of having caused indigence on one side, but also of having produced luxury in the opposite direction. Here we have again to complain of the confusion between the absolute and relative signification of a term. Sir Walter Scott tells us of a Highland chief who accused his son of luxury, because, when sleeping in the snow, he rolled some of the snow into a ball for his pillow. Xenophon stigmatizes the Persians of his day as luxurious, because they wore gloves; the use of stockings, in the reign of the Plantagenets, would have exposed the great majority of Englishmen to similar censure. It is more than probable, that a workman of London, with his week's wages, is surrounded with, and can possibly command, more solid comforts than the noblest Roman of the Augustine age, or the most luxurious Greek in the days of Pericles. Horace, indeed, describes a state of gentlemanly and comfortable society; but it wanted a thousand conveniences which habit has rendered indispensable even to the poorest amongst us. The most sumptuous banquet would appear unendurable without spoons, forks, glasses, and table-covers. Walls hung with tapestry would not compensate for unglazed windows, nor the lighter beverages of ancient Italy be an acceptable substitute for tea and coffee. It would not be easy to discover any ancient sweet which could be applied to the countless little luxuries in which sugar is employed; and most assuredly the woollens of antiquity could not for a moment stand a comparison with the silk and cotton fabrics of Spital-

fields, Macclesfield, Paisley, and Manchester. Habit has rendered us insensible to the value of these little comforts, we never estimate the amount they contribute to the sum of human happiness until we are accidentally compelled to do without them. Hence we find that the settlers in new countries always miscalculate the sacrifices they must make, and are too often discontented. It is not sufficient to tell them that each article they are compelled to do without is a trifle, for the aggregate of these trifles forms a very large amount in the estimate of human enjoyment. If we appeal to the common sense of mankind—if we endeavour to find out what is the common attribute in all things condemned as luxurious, we find that luxury always involves the notion of comparison. "An individual man," says Archbishop Whately, "is called luxurious, in comparison with other men of the same community, and in the same walk of life as himself: a nation is called luxurious in reference to other nations. The same style of living which would be reckoned moderate and frugal, or even penurious among the higher orders, would be censured as extravagant luxury in a day-labourer: and the labourer again, if he lives in a cottage with glass windows and a chimney, and wears shoes and stockings, and a linen or cotton shirt, is not said to live in luxury, though he possesses what would be thought luxury to a negro prince." Luxury, then, is comparative, and includes in it the idea of disproportion, unsuitableness, or impropriety: there is either selfish indulgence, beyond what the circumstances of the individual justify, or ostentation, arising from the possession of something beyond the standard or average

of persons in the same class of life. The highlander mentioned by Sir Walter Scott, was luxurious because he was the only person in the company who provided a pillow; the Persian gloves appeared luxurious to the Greeks, because they did not wear any coverings to their own hands; and a beggar in the rural districts of Ireland wearing shoes and stockings would assuredly find little commiseration from the barelegged peasantry around him.

Now, disproportionate extravagance, self-indulgence, and ostentation, are not confined to civilized life; on the contrary, they are more prominent in a state of barbarism. "The chief difference," says Archbishop Whately, "is, that the luxury of the savage is of a coarser description, and generally has more connexion with gross sensuality. Barbarians are almost invariably intemperate." It is not until civilization has reached an advanced stage that the evils of luxury are discovered, and then there is usually a confusion between old luxuries and new comforts. Sumptuary laws mark this era in the history of most civilized nations; there are many on the British Statute-book which prohibited what are now deemed positive necessities of life. We have had laws against pinched shoes, short doublets, and long coats; reports without number on the increasing luxuries of the commonalty; proclamations by the Fourth Edward and Eighth Henry to restrain the indulgence of excess in eating and drinking. These, indeed, were all repealed by First James, s. 1, c. 25, but one law against excess in diet continues unrepealed, though it has long since fallen into desuetude.

The complaints of moralists, and the enactments of

sumptuary legislators, are principally directed against luxury of dress; but this is, in truth, as much a characteristic of

The meanest savage 'mid his clan
The rudest portraiture of man,

as it is of the most fashionable dangles at the most civilized court. Theodore Irving gives us a very amusing sketch of the dandyism of the desert, which sufficiently proves that conceit and ostentation may be as strongly shewn in paint and feathers as in gold and diamonds.

“To dress and ornament himself with trinkets and gewgaws is the delight of a savage. The glittering presents of the whites bear as strong an attraction to the warrior as to the female or the child, though his disciplined habits prevent those loud bursts of applause which escape from them. Scarcely a day elapsed but a little group would collect before our tents for the purpose of ornamenting themselves. They were apparently very fastidious in their taste; for, when hours had been spent by an Indian beau in laying on one streak of paint after another, and in ogling himself by piecemeal in a small scrap of looking-glass, some defect would appear, and, with an exclamation of dissatisfaction, the whole would be rubbed off. The work would then be recommenced with unabated perseverance, until he succeeded in daubing and ornamenting himself to his entire satisfaction.

“When the toilette was completed, a surprising change came over the young warriors. They would fling their blankets ostentatiously around them, and with a lordly air lounge through the town; looking

first at one of the young squaws, then at another; and occasionally condescending to speak to some dirty-looking brother, with the patronising air which, in all countries, a well-dressed person is apt to assume in conversing with a ragged acquaintance. When they had finished their perambulations, they would mount upon the top of one of the highest lodges, and stand for hours to be gazed at by the different idlers; a term which, in truth, might be applied to the whole male population of the town."

Extravagance in eating and drinking is so notoriously a characteristic of savage nations, that it is not necessary to quote any of the disgusting descriptions of barbarous feasts with which the narratives of travellers abound. Though they do not possess wine or spirits, few of them have been found that had not discovered means, if not of intoxication, at least of stupefaction; bang, opium, or the cassava root were substitutes for distilled or fermented liquor, and were not less extensively nor less mischievously used.

It is a common fallacy with the advocates of ascetic doctrines to represent every passion as wholly vicious, which is so in any degree and in any direction. A love of magnificence, a taste for elegance and beauty, a high relish for the comforts and conveniences of life, are not in themselves bad or depraved feelings. It is true that they may be carried to excess, but it is also true that they may be indulged, not only with safety, but with advantage. In this, as in every other moral question, the entire debate turns on limits: to determine whether any given indulgence is a luxury or a comfort, is, in fact, to estimate the proportion that it bears to sur-

rounding circumstances. A bed of down would be a luxury in a thatched cabin, a bed of straw would be a shabbiness in a palace. The effect of civilization is not to increase luxuries, but to multiply the number of comforts which would be deemed luxuries in a barbarous country.

There are some writers who have praised the speech of an ascetic, when he saw a well-furnished apartment, "What a multitude of things are here which a man could do without!" But, why should he do without them?* If they did not promote his happiness, or what he believes to be his happiness, he would not have them; hence there is a manifest gain in their use, and it rests on their opponent to point out the corresponding disadvantages. It is utter nonsense to talk about the simplicity of nature,—a phrase that may mean any thing or nothing as the speaker pleases. Nature gives us only raw material, and by the processes of cookery and the fabrications of art, it is to be wrought to our purpose. If such reasoners are to be concluded by their own arguments, natural life is limited to cropping the spontaneous herbage of the field, for every thing beyond that is artificial; or, in other words, requires the exertion of art and contrivance. A cushioned chair is artificial, but so is the clumsy stool, framed from misshapen logs of wood; nay, so is the heap of stones collected by the hermit for a seat. Those who call upon us to reject what is artificial in life, may begin, if they please, with all the gorgeous splendour of Nebuchad-

* "Thus," said Diogenes, "do I trample on the pride of Plato" —(stamping on his carpet). "And with greater pride of thy own, Diogenes," was Plato's just retort.

nezzar on the throne of Babylon ; but they cannot, in any consistency, stop until they end with the same Nebuchadnezzar when "he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws." Cowper, in the opening of the Task, has humorously delineated the progress of invention from the stool to the sofa :

Time was when clothing, sumptuous or for use,
 Save their own painted skins, our sires had none.
 As yet black breeches were not ; satin smooth,
 Or velvet soft, or plush with shaggy pile :
 The hardy chief upon the rugged rock
 Wash'd by the sea, or on the gravelly bank
 Thrown up by wintry torrents roaring loud,
 Fearless of wrong reposed his weary strength.
 These barbarous ages past, succeeded next
 The birthday of Invention ; weak at first,
 Dull in design, and clumsy to perform.
 Joint-stools were then created ; on three legs
 Upborne they stood. * * *

But relaxation of the languid frame
 By soft recumbency of outstretch'd limbs
 Was bliss reserved for happier days. So slow
 The growth of what is excellent : so hard
 T' attain perfection in this nether world.
 Thus first Necessity invented stools,
 Convenience next suggested elbow chairs,
 And Luxury th' accomplish'd sofa last.

Now, why should we be called to reverse the process and pass back through these several stages ? Has any one ever seen one of the advocates of the simplicity of Nature select from preference his length even of the finest sand for his bed, and the undressed roots for his supper ?

Many of the errors prevalent on this subject have arisen from regarding labour too exclusively as the punishment inflicted on man. The toil to which Adam was sentenced after the Fall is strictly limited to such labour as is necessary for mere subsistence; in every other respect labour must have been from the beginning the prerogative and the privilege of man. The world of matter and the world of mind are equally shapeless and void to all man's purposes, until they are moulded and formed by industry and exertion. Absolute truth, ready made, no more presents itself to our mind than finished models of mechanism present themselves ready made to our hand. Original principles there are doubtless in both, but the development and application of these principles are just as far to seek in one case as in the other. The express words of the Sacred Record shew that man was destined to labour before he was doomed to toil,—“the Lord God took the man, and put him in the garden of Eden *to dress it and to keep it.*” The kind and degree of labour are not stated, but the fact of some labour is most explicitly recorded.

That labour is an essential attribute of humanity appears from the nature of the world and from the nature of man. “The earth he stands upon,” says Dr. Dewey, “and the air he breathes are, so far as his improvement is concerned, but elements to be wrought by him to certain purposes. If he stood on earth, passively and unconsciously, imbibing the dew and sap, and spreading his arms to the light and air, he would be but a tree. If he grew up neither capable of purpose nor of improvement, with no guidance but instinct,

and no powers but those of digestion and locomotion, he would be only animal. But he is more than this; he is a man; he is made to improve, he is therefore made to think, to act, to work. Labour is his great function, his peculiar distinction, his privilege." We may add that the necessity for some labour is felt even by the indolent; their work is "killing time," and very hard work they often find it to be.

Nothing more strongly marks the progress of civilization than the increased respect, not merely for the rights of industry, but for the honourable character of industry itself. There has, indeed, been always in the world a public opinion derogatory to labour; but we shall find that this opinion increases in intensity the nearer we approach savage life, and diminishes with similar rapidity as we proceed in the opposite direction. Mr. Irving informs us, that the government of the United States employs a blacksmith to take charge of, and keep in repair, the arms paid as an annuity to the Shawnee tribe, "a measure highly pleasing to the Indians, who detest labour of all kinds, and would willingly travel a hundred miles to get another to perform some trivial job, which they might themselves accomplish with but a few hours' labour." Under circumstances of high excitement, in war and in hunting, there is no being more untiring than the savage; but in peace, and in his own village, he lounges about listlessly, miserable for want of employment, yet unable to overcome his repugnance to labour, and compelling the females of his family to work for him.

No greater difficulty has impeded the progress of the missionaries than this repugnance to toil; it would

seem, indeed, as if the progress of industry was identified with the progress of civilization, and that idleness and barbarism were nearly convertible terms. Thus viewed, it may be received as a gratifying sign of progress that the epithet, "man of business," which in former ages was a term of reproach, is now a title eagerly sought by the legislator, the statesman, the great fundholder, the wealthy merchants and manufacturers, and the proprietors of the most extensive estates.

Civilization, then, is truly the friend of the poor: though it does not extirpate indigence it removes its most repulsive features and most fatal qualities: if it increases the enjoyments of the palace, it gradually renders its luxuries part and parcel of the comforts of the cottage: if it asserts the necessity of labour, it does not compel the poor to toil alone, it forces the rich to work, both with them and for them.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPERSTITIONS AND DETACHED CUSTOMS.

THERE is no circumstance connected with savage nations which has been the subject of greater curiosity than their religious tenets, and there is none on which our information is more indefinite and unsatisfactory. A great and natural difficulty besets every inquiry into the subject. The Rev. Henry Woodward has very ably shewn that most men are disposed to deduce their notions of the Divine character from an ideal exemplar of themselves, and this is not less true of nations and eras than it is of individuals. It is an aphorism with all modern philosophers, that the mythology of a people is an exponent of its intellectual character,—the converse is equally true; the general state of society in any country affords important aid to determine the nature and bearing of its religion. If we find a warlike ferocious race, delighting in cruelty and devastation, we may be assured that they will have deities delighting in slaughter, and rites polluted with blood. A more indolent race, whose sloth is only chequered by sensualism, will display deified passions and lustful ceremonies. Tribes scarcely rising above the brute creation, too apathetic to remember the past, or speculate on the future, who possess not in their language a single word to specify cause, will either have no notion of a God at all, or a

notion so feeble and indistinct that it baffles the search of the inquirer.

"Whoever," says Dr. Robertson, "has had any opportunity of examining into the religious opinions of persons in the lower ranks of life, even in the most enlightened and civilized nations, will find that their system of belief is derived from instruction, not discovered by inquiry." He will also discover that the instruction is greatly modified by the moral and intellectual character of the recipient. If he has never previously considered the subject, he will be astonished to find how necessary the diffusion of intelligence is to the growth of genuine religion.

The two fundamental doctrines upon which every religion is founded are, the Being of a God, and the Immortality of the Soul: these presuppose two very important ideas—Cause and Purpose, or Destination, ideas not very easy to be acquired, and not very difficult to be lost.

"The idea of creation," says Dr. Robertson, "is so familiar, wherever the mind is enlarged by science and illuminated with revelation, that we seldom reflect how profound and abstruse this idea is, or consider what progress man must have made in observation and research, before he could arrive to any knowledge of this elementary principle of religion." We are frequently misled by supposing that this idea is possessed by the most ignorant in our own land: it very frequently is not; and even when acquired by instruction, it gradually becomes faint and obscure; nay, is often obliterated, unless the mind has made the notion its own by attention and repetition. Let any person go

over in his own mind the chain of reasoning by which we ascend from observed phenomena to the knowledge of a First Cause, and he will at once perceive that it is a train of thought which requires some considerable exercise of mental discipline, to be pursued without interruption. What Paley calls an otiose assent to any article of belief, is very likely to pass into utter forgetfulness; and every active clergyman is aware that not only in the formation, but also in the preservation, of faith, it is necessary to have "line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little."

Some difficulties have arisen on this subject from confounding unbelief with disbelief. It has been said with truth, that there never was a nation of atheists; that is, an assemblage of men *denying* that there was a God—but a nation ignorant of the fact that there is a God, is a very different matter; they are ignorant simply because they never bestowed a thought on the subject. That such ignorance is possible, does not seem at all inconsistent with what we know of human nature; that such ignorance exists, has been attested by the most trust-worthy travellers. M. Bik, an intelligent officer in the service of the king of the Netherlands, gives us the following account of the natives of the Anù Islands, whom he visited in 1824:—

"Of the immortality of the soul they have not the least conception. To all my inquiries on this subject they answered, 'No Arafura has ever returned to us after death, therefore we know nothing of a future state, and this is the first time we heard of it.' Their idea was *Mati, Mati, Ludah* (when you are dead there is an end of you). Neither have they any notion of

the creation of the world. They only answered, 'None of us are aware of this; we have never heard anything about it, and therefore do not know who has done it at all.'

"To convince myself more fully respecting their want of knowledge of a Supreme Being, I demanded of them on whom they called for help in their need when far from their homes, engaged in the Trepang fishery, their vessels were overtaken by violent tempests, and no human power could save them, their wives and children, from destruction. The eldest among them, after having consulted the others, answered, that they knew not on whom they could call for assistance, but begged me, if I knew, to be so good as to inform them.

"I was at length tired of asking questions, and did my best to give them a notion of the creation of the world, and of a future state. I remarked to them how wonderful it was that a small grain of seed sprang up into a spreading tree; that the different sorts never mixed; that every thing which surrounded us was in a constantly progressive state of creation and decay; and that all these things could never have taken place but for the superintendence of an All-wise Providence. The Arafuras nodded their heads, to shew that my words appeared to have some truth in them.

"At length, one of them, who had listened with particular attention, demanded of me where this All-ruling Being took up its abode. I answered, that the Deity was present everywhere; not only among us, but in every plant which, through his goodness and power, he has furnished us for our food. This idea was too abstruse for the Arafuras; for one of them answered—

‘Then this God is certainly in your arrack, for I never feel happier than when I have drunk plenty of it.’”

It is, however, only among men in the most uncultivated state, while their intellectual faculties are so feeble and limited as hardly to elevate them above the brute creation, that we discern this total insensibility to the impressions of any invisible power. The relation between cause and effect is one of our earliest intellectual perceptions, and those who want it scarcely rise above the level of animals. An apprehension of some invisible and powerful beings appears in the very first stage of improvement, and is not obliterated until the very last stage of degradation. We find, however, that this notion is not suggested so much by the regular and uniform course of nature, as by some remarkable deviations from it; just as in civilized life we find persons careless of religion while their days pass on in an even current of prosperity, but who hasten to seek its consolations in the hour of sickness and adversity. The invariable tendency of ignorance is to multiply causes, to assign a different cause for every different effect; simplification of causes is the great triumph of science. Hence arises the multiplication of superior beings, the countless objects of worship which are found in barbarous nations; and hence arises the tendency among the uninstructed in civilized nations to extend the number of supernatural agencies. Imagination is a more forward and ardent faculty of the mind than judgment, it bounds over difficulties, and decides without hesitation. Hence the extraordinary occurrences of nature, the thunder, the tempest, the earthquake, a sudden drought, an extraordinary mortality among the

cattle, an unusual type of disease, are ascribed to the interposition of some superior being—and the principle is the same whether the supposed agency be the malignity of a demon-god, the suspended protection of a saint, or the active malevolence of a witch.

The New Zealanders, as Mr. Marsden informs us, can with difficulty comprehend that our God is the same as theirs. To his arguments they replied, "But we are of a different colour from you; and if one God made us both, he would not have committed such a mistake as to make us of different colours." In like manner, when the Syrians were defeated by the Israelites, they said, "Their gods are gods of the hills, therefore they were stronger than we, but let us fight against them in the plain, and we shall be stronger than they." In both cases, ignorance confined the Great Cause to a single class of phenomena; it multiplied the number of agencies, and it limited the extent of each separate agency.

This tendency of ignorance to polytheism is not confined to paganism, it manifests itself in countless shapes among Christians; the belief in miracles wrought by saints—discoveries made by ghosts—and maladies inflicted by fairies and witches,—is only a modification of polytheism, an ascription of separate causes to separate classes of phenomena. It may also be remarked, that this tendency is greatly increased when religion is based upon the feelings rather than upon the reason. Whenever the feelings are strongly excited, they seek to lay hold on something gross and material. Hence we find that the celebrated Witch-persecution of New England arose at a period when men's minds were strongly excited by disputes involving rather more of passion

than principle. Paganism itself never exhibited greater absurdity than when men were hanged on the evidence of ghosts, and when a dog was publicly executed for allowing his master to take a ride upon him through the air. It would be easy to multiply examples; but enough has been said to shew that the multiplication of supernatural agencies is the natural tendency of ignorance, especially during periods of high excitement, in all places and all times. Ignorance has been ignorantly termed the mother of devotion.* A permanent feeling, such as devotion properly designates, can be based on knowledge only. We find that the religion of savages fluctuates between abject prostration and utter recklessness; and the one state has just as little claim to the name of devotion as the other. In all unenlightened nations, the first rites or practices which bear any resemblance to acts of religion, have it for their object to avert evils which men suffer or dread. A religion based on love and gratitude can only exist where there is a knowledge of the manifestations of that love, and a perception of the benefits which call forth that gratitude.

These general observations on the nature of barbarous religions may be illustrated further by referring to one common class of superstitions, those connected with disease. We find sickness, especially when it assumes an unusual form, attributed to some supernatural agency. The New Zealanders, we are told, "believe, that whenever any person is sick, his illness is occasioned by the Atua (their deity), in the shape of a lizard, preying upon his entrails. In some parts of Ireland, an unfor-

* It should be called the mother of superstition.

fortunate child suffering from rickets or consumption is declared to be fairy-struck. Mr. Paris, who began the witch-persecution in New England, tortured a poor Indian woman until he made her confess that she had bewitched his wife and daughter, because he could in no other way account for the disease. Our blessed Lord often reproved his disciples for adopting the Jewish superstition, that every natural disease was a sign of an offended deity. When they asked, "Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" Jesus answered, "Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents; but that the work of God should be made manifest in him." But perhaps the most singular form which this superstition ever assumed, was when the influenza made its appearance in part of Anatolia. Some dervish gravely informed the people, that a certain demon, called "The Mother of Sore Throats," had recently lost her son, and being enraged at the want of sympathy manifested, had sent the influenza, to compel others to mourn as well as herself. "Whereupon," says the historian, "the people continued for several days running up and down, exclaiming,—Pardon us, O Mother of Sore Throats, thy son was dead, and we knew it not!"

We have seen, that a barbarous religion, is a religion of fear, and hence it is almost invariably a religion of cruelty. There are few savage nations in which the practice of human sacrifices has not prevailed to a frightful extent; in many cases torture was added to murder, as if their furious deities could only be propitiated by human blood and human suffering. Such horrid rites seem to have a peculiar charm for unen-

lightened imaginations, for we find, that when the Israelites, under the Judges, lapsed into idolatry, they usually adopted its most gloomy and its most sanguinary form.

A belief in existence after death is found among most barbarians. Even the Arafurans had some rude notion on the subject, for their answer to M. Bik was rather contradictory: the declaration, that "no Arafura has returned to us after death," intimates their believing such an event possible. In considering this subject, we must again refer to the distinction between unbelief and disbelief; there is a wide distance between the doctrine of annihilation, and the absence of any definite opinion respecting a future state. One of the many controversies which has arisen respecting the Book of Job, turns on this very point. Some have asserted, that in the fourteenth chapter of that book, the doctrine of annihilation is taught, while others aver, that it clearly intimates immortality. Let us quote the passage from Wemyss' very accurate translation:—

There is indeed hope for a tree;
For if lopped, it may sprout again,
And its tender branches may not fail:
Though its root have grown old in the earth,
And its trunk have become dead in the ground,
Through the fragrance of water it may revive,
And put forth young shoots as when planted.
But when man dies he moulders into dust,
When the mortal expires—Where is he?

The question is not put either as an affirmation or denial of a future state; it is a simple expression of ignorance. It may be true that we find few or no traces in the patriarch's words of the "pleasing hope,"

but we assuredly have "the fond desire, the longing after immortality, the shrinking of the soul back upon itself, and startling at destruction." This is, no doubt, far from the Christian faith, "the *subsistence* of things hoped for, the *demonstration* of things not seen," but it is scarcely less removed from the belief in utter extinction and endless night.

A confusion of this kind has been sometimes made by missionaries in savage lands; they have frequently mistaken not only ignorance, but indistinctness of belief, for utter rejection of a doctrine. This has been remarkably the case with respect to some forms of Buddhism, and the Mohammedan heresy, called Sufyism: the doctrine of absorption, that is, the belief that the soul after death is absorbed into the essence of the Deity, has been very frequently confounded with the doctrine of annihilation, though it is manifestly not a disbelief in future existence, but a disbelief in separate existence.

As the doctrine of absorption has, from the remotest ages, had many followers in the East, it seems not improbable that it was, to some extent, the basis of the Sadducean heresy. We are not told that they denied the immortality of the soul, but that they denied the resurrection. The argument by which they were confuted is just as decisive against the doctrine of absorption as it is against annihilation, and the antithesis between "living and dead" is equally applicable in both cases.

The Sadducees admitted the existence of *Spirit*, for they believed in a God; they denied the existence of spirits distinct from him, and consequently they connected no moral feeling with the state of the soul after

death, for they deemed that it would be deprived both of personality and consciousness. Christ, in his reply to them, shews, that not merely continued existence, but distinct personality, is predicted of the patriarchs when Jehovah declares, "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob." It may be added, that the doctrine of *Nirwana*, or Absorption, generally arises in countries where the doctrine of a future state is demoralised by speculations on a sensual paradise, such as are presented to us in the heaven of the Hindoos and the immortality promised in the Koran. Sufyism, for instance, is more common in Persia than in Turkey, and the Persians surpass all other Mohammedans in their luxuriant pictures of the sensual delights prepared for the faithful. The Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, seem to have incorporated these degrading notions of futurity in their popular belief: the very question which the Sadducees put to Christ respecting the woman who had seven husbands, and the consequent difficulty of assigning her to any one of them at the resurrection, proves that their heresy was a reaction against the perverse speculations of their countrymen; and Christ, in his reply, strikes not less effectually against the gross conceptions of the vulgar than against the refined speculations of the Sadducees, "In the kingdom of heaven there is neither marrying nor being given in marriage." Perhaps amongst the reasons for not making rewards and punishments the sanctions of the law, we may assign as one, the low degree of civilization to which the Israelites had attained, and the consequent peril of their demoralising the doctrine by injurious notions, such as their Rabbins

have introduced in the Talmud, and Mohammed in the Koran.

The notions which barbarians form of a future state are derived from their habits in this life. The Indians of North America allotted the highest place, in their country of spirits, to the skilful hunter, to the adventurous and successful warrior, and to such as had tortured the greatest number of captives, and devoured their flesh. Our Northern ancestors believed that bravery was the best qualification for ensuring admission to the halls of Odin, where they should sit quaffing mead from the skulls of their enemies. The missionaries assure us that the ideas of the New Zealanders on the subject are not very dissimilar from those of the ancient Germans. The contemplative ascetics of Asia devised the doctrine of absorption as the very consummation of luxurious indolence. The western Asiatics invented a heaven of sensual indulgence. It is curious to trace the changes in the mind of Mohammed on this great topic. Dividing the Koran into two portions—the chapters revealed at Mecca, and the chapters revealed at Medina—and, examining each separately, we shall find two very different religious systems—enthusiasm prevailing in the former, and imposture in the latter. The paradise of the Meccan chapters is far more pure and holy than that in the asserted Medinese revelations, and we find the latter rendered still more gross and sensual in the collection of orthodox traditions.

This tendency to forming degrading notions of a future state is not confined to Paganism or Mohammedanism; we find it invariably associated with igno-

rance in every land: examples of monstrous error on the subject might be found in Christian countries, but they are painful to contemplate, and are, besides, sufficiently known. We refer, however, to the subject simply as a corroboration of what we have before said, that the interests of true religion are intimately connected with the general progress of intelligence, and that every new discovery, whether in the universe of matter or the universe of mind, directly tends to increase the good of man and the glory of God.

When once men have begun to look beyond immediate existence, they are irresistibly compelled to pry into futurity. Divination becomes a religious act. The Temple is not so highly valued as the Oracle; the priests are more regarded as soothsayers, augurs, astrologers, and magicians, than as interpreters of the will of the gods. Mohammed evinced a shrewd knowledge of human nature when he chose to found his mission on prophecy rather than on miracles. His venturous prediction of the overthrow of the Sassanid dynasty in Persia did more for the success of Islamism than the belief in his having cleft the moon, or rode up to heaven on Al Borak. The human mind is most apt to feel and to discover this vain curiosity when its own powers are feeble and unformed. In the ruder ages of Grecian history the oracle of Delphi was consulted in every important enterprise, but, as civilization advanced, it sunk gradually into oblivion. Auguries and auspices were long matters of state at Rome; but when knowledge began to assume sway, Cicero expressed his surprise that one augur could look at another without laughing. The domestic history of our own country

exhibits abundant specimens of the means adopted by superstitious ignorance to gratify idle curiosity; and, as among the Pagans, we find them associated with some religious or with some blasphemous ceremony. We know, from the history of individual minds, that whatever has tended to weaken the intellect has also tended to increase this form of superstition: sickness, mental anxiety, and solitude, are found almost invariably to produce this effect, in a greater or less degree, according to the amount of intelligence possessed by the individual. The same remark is applicable to communities: whenever any great calamity has checked the progress of knowledge, and rolled back the tide of civilization, a rapid increase in the number of fortune-tellers, diviners, and necromancers, is immediately perceptible. It was so in the Roman empire when the barbarians broke through the frontiers, it was so in England during the civil wars, and it was so in London during the great plague.

We have already mentioned the common superstition of ascribing diseases to supernatural causes; and hence, among savages, the chief physicians are priests, conjurers, or wizards. Incantations, sorceries, and mummeries of various sorts are used instead of medicine; but again we must remark that such are the resources of ignorance in every country. The use of spells and charms is not quite banished from our own land. The writer has one in his possession, given him as an infallible remedy for toothache, by one who so firmly believed in its efficacy that he made its unfortunate failure a cause of quarrel. It runs thus,—

As Thomas sat upon a marble stone,
Jesus came up to him all alone,
Saying, Thomas, swear thus for my sake,
And you never will be troubled with the toothache.*

The superstitious belief in the power of cure leads naturally to a belief in the power of inflicting disease. "It was a ceremony in use among the heathens," says Bishop Newton, "to devote their enemies to destruction at the beginning of their wars; as if the gods would enter into their passions, and were as unjust and partial as themselves." Balak deemed it a proper preliminary of war to send for Balaam, "Come curse me Jacob, and come defy me Israel:" the very same custom is found among the New Zealanders,—it is a common threat with their priests that they will pray their enemies to death. This propensity to cursing, this seeming belief that a superior power might be induced to share in human malignity, is a common attribute of ignorance; the Arabs must have made a considerable advance before they devised the aphorism, "curses are like chickens, they roost at home."

The belief in omens, prodigies, and the significance of dreams, is universal in every ignorant population. Captain Dillon declares, that he found no way so effectual in checking the importunities of his New Zealand friends, who asked for every thing they saw, than by assuring them that he had dreamed that the favour

* A clergyman, of acknowledged worth, to whom this anecdote was related, has supplied the following corroboration:—"I know this fact: a gentleman between twenty and thirty years of age, of a leading family in his country, the son of a clergyman who had three parishes, sewed these verses in his sister's petticoat, believing they would ease her of toothache."

they requested would prove a misfortune to them. Some of them were very urgent that he would convey them to India; but, by saying he had dreamed that they would die when they reached the country, he put an end to their solicitations. This superstition was found still more powerful among the Indians of North America: Lafitau devotes a large portion of his work to their system of divination by dreams and visions; and it is curious to observe that, in parts, it bears a very strong resemblance to what is called "second-sight" in Scotland.

It is not necessary to enter into any investigation of the extent or amount of Natural Religion as compared with Revealed Religion; neither need we determine whether the existence or attributes of the Deity would be discovered by unassisted reason, or whether the knowledge of them has been in all cases derived from the faint tradition of a primary revelation: our purpose is to shew that these notions, however acquired and of whatever amount, may become corrupt, and may even be obliterated by ignorance and barbarism; and that they will advance to perfection and completeness only by the general progress of intelligence.

Was not wild Nature in that elder time
Clothed with a deeper power? Earth's wandering race,
Exploring realms of solitude sublime,
Not as we see beheld her awful face!
Art had not tamed the mighty scenes which met
Their searching eyes; unpeopled kingdoms lay
In savage pomp before them—all was yet
Silent and vast, but not as in decay,
And the bright Day-star from his burning throne
Look'd o'er a thousand shores, untrodden, voiceless, lone!

The forests in their dark luxuriance waved,
 With all their swell of strange *Æolian* sound;
 The fearful deep, sole region ne'er enslaved,
 Heaved, in its pomp of terror, darkly round,
 Then brooding o'er the images imprest,
 By forms of grandeur thronging on his eye
 And faint traditions guarded in his breast :
 Midst dim remembrances of infancy,
 Man shaped unearthly presences in dreams,
 Peopling each wilder haunt of mountains, groves, and streams.

It is a singular attribute of Christianity, and one that does not seem to have received all the attention it merits, that it is the only system of religion which has been found applicable to the most varied stages of society. The Greek mythology, as we find it in Homer and Hesiod, was not the original creed of the Hellenic race; there was an earlier, a more dread and mysterious mythology, which, like that of most eastern nations, was elementary,—that is, consisted in the worship of some mysterious power or principle of nature.

When far o'er earth the apostate wanderers bore
 Their alien rites;—for them by fount or shade,
 Nor voice, nor vision holy as of yore,
 In thrilling whispers to the soul convey'd
 High inspiration : yet in every clime,
 Those sons of doubt and error fondly sought,
 With beings, in their essence more sublime,
 To hold communion of mysterious thought ;
 On some dread power in trembling hope to lean,
 And hear in every word the accents of th' Unseen.

As one left lonely on the desert sands
 Of burning *Afric*, where, without a guide,
 He gazes as the pathless waste expands—
 Around, beyond, interminably wide :

While the red haze presaging the Simoom.
Obscures the fierce resplendence of the sky,
Or suns of blasting light perchance illumine
The glistening mirage, which illudes his eye :
Such was the wanderer man in ages flown.

Kneeling in doubt and fear before the dread Unknown.

After the age of the poets, the Grecian deities ceased to be symbolical representations, and became moral persons; not that they were models of purity, but that they were invested with the moral nature of man, including its defects as well as its excellencies. As civilization advanced, this creed gradually lost its hold on the mind; philosophy shook the very foundations of mythology, and even before the age of the Roman invasion, the religion of the schools was a very different thing from the religion of the people. A similar change took place in Rome, at the time of the Augustan age—polytheism was worn out; and in its stead there reigned either complete scepticism, or the most degrading superstition, without any distinct object or purpose.

Sacerdotal religions, such as those of Egypt and India, were manifestly suited only to a special framework of society. The ancient religion of Egypt fell irretrievably when the throne of the Pharaohs was overturned; and the religion which the Plotemies established was an incongruous mixture of Eastern and Western creeds, which changed not merely its aspect but its nature during every year of its existence.

Mohammedanism, which should rather be considered a Christian heresy than a distinct religion, exhibits the weakness of falsehood by its inability to meet the changes of times and circumstances. The bigots of Islam have ever resisted the slightest tendency towards

progressive civilization, because they felt an instinctive conviction, that an advance in intelligence would be fatal to their creed. They are foes to knowledge, because knowledge is a foe to them. It is not at all unlikely that the political changes at Constantinople herald a more speedy religious change than is generally anticipated; at least, recent travellers assure us, that the authority of the Koran is greatly weakened, and that of the traditions all but overthrown.

The progress of intelligence, which has weakened every other religious system, has added fresh strength to Christianity; because the truths on which it is based are all capable of development, and become more influential and more convincing as they are developed. Still we cannot doubt that the Christian system is capable of being perverted,—that ignorance can corrupt, hide, and even efface some of the truths which it reveals—for ecclesiastical history abounds with illustrations of the fact. It deserves also to be remarked, that corruptions of Christianity, arising from ignorance, always assume the aspect of polytheism; that is, they multiply the number of spiritual agencies, as in the *Æons* of the Syrian heretics, the endless calendar of wonder-working saints in the Greek Church, and the superstitions respecting the interference of angels and demons which abound among the Eastern Christians. The same is also true of the Mohammedans: the *Sheeahs*, who, as a body, are more ignorant than the *Soonnees*, pay nearly divine honours to Ali and the Twelve Imams; and the Mohammedans, in some parts of Hindoostan, have not hesitated to adopt the idolatrous rites of the Hindoo ritual.

Hence it appears very possible, that the knowledge of the "one only living and true God," may be lost by a nation which once possessed it. We know from Jewish history, that it was, if not wholly lost, yet so greatly impaired as to seem lost at different times among the Israelites, and the decline of the national religion is invariably connected with the decay of civilization. When the means of knowledge are given to man, ignorance becomes a crime; and though to know what is right is not always the same as to do what is right, yet the knowledge is certainly necessary to the action.

Who hath not seen, what time the orb of day
Cinctured with glory seeks the ocean's breast,
A thousand clouds, all glowing in his ray,
Catching brief splendour from the purple west?
So round thy parting steps, fair Truth, awhile,
With borrow'd lines unnumber'd phantoms shone;
And Superstition from thy lingering smile
Caught a faint glow of beauty not her own,
Blending her rites with thine, while yet afar
Thine eye's last radiance beam'd, a slow receding star.

We have dwelt at some length on this subject, because, among the many delusions propagated by the advocates of barbarian innocence, the purity of their primitive religion occupies a conspicuous place. They dwell with great complacency on the simplicity of the doctrines that may be discovered by the Light of Nature; but they do not tell us how that light is kindled, or by what aliment the flame is to be fed. No traces of this boasted light have been found in any of the barbarous races yet discovered; and the natural religion possessed by savages, instead of being pure

and simple, has been invariably found gloomy, sanguinary, and complicated.

A savage ritual is not only sanguinary, it is generally licentious. Courtesans are notoriously employed as a part of the hierarchy in India. Among the islanders of the South Seas, whose virtues before they came in contact with Europeans were loudly celebrated in poetry and romance, an institution was found by which the debaucheries of a set of privileged libertines were placed under the sanction of religion. "The rites of the *Areois*," says Mr. Ellis, "were abominable, unutterable; in some of their meetings, they appear to have placed their invention on the rack, to discover the worst pollutions of which it was possible for men to be guilty, and to have striven to outdo each other in the most revolting practices. The mysteries of iniquity, and acts of more than bestial degradation, to which they were at times addicted, must remain in the darkness in which even they felt it expedient to conceal them. I will not do violence to my own feelings, or offend those of my readers, by details of conduct which the mind cannot contemplate without pollution and pain. I should not have alluded to them, but for the purpose of shewing the affecting debasement and humiliating demoralization to which ignorance, idolatry, and the evil propensities of the human heart, when uncontrolled or unrestrained by the institutions and relations of civilized society and sacred truth, may debase men even under circumstances highly favourable to the culture of virtue, purity, and happiness. In their pastimes, in their accompanying abominations, and the often-repeated practices of the most unrelenting murderous cruelty, these wandering *Areois*

passed their lives, esteemed by the people as a superior order of beings, closely allied to the gods, and deriving from them direct sanction, not only for their abominations, but even for their heartless murders. Free from labour or care, they roved from island to island, supported by the chiefs and the priests; and were often feasted with provisions plundered from the industrious husbandman, whose gardens were spoiled by the hand of lawless violence, to provide their entertainments, while his own family was not unfrequently deprived thereby of the means of subsistence. Such was their life of luxurious and licentious indolence and crime. And such was the character of their delusive system of superstition, that for them too was reserved the Elysium which their fabulous mythology taught them to believe was provided, in a future state of existence, for those so pre-eminently favoured by the gods."

Of the amusements of savage nations it is not necessary to say much. The most prominent and universal is dancing, with which there is generally associated some species of dramatic representation. The character of the representation varies in different countries, according to the habits and manners of the people. Among the Asiatics, dances are usually licentious exhibitions, but among the Americans and New Zealanders they are for the most part "the mimicry of noble war." An immoderate love of gaming seems natural to all persons unaccustomed to the habits of regular industry, and is generally found in all savage tribes. The Indians of North America were frequently known to stake their furs, their dresses, their arms, and their domestic utensils, at a favourite game, and when these were lost, to risk even their personal liberty upon a single cast.

The eloquence of savage tribes, especially the Red Men of North America, has been often celebrated, and if the praise had been kept within due limits, it might have passed without comment. We all know that the language of passion is, at the moment it is heard, more efficient and impressive than the language of reason; and savage eloquence is exclusively the language of passion,—short, energetic, and abounding with highly-wrought figures. It is metaphorical, because the orator's vocabulary is limited, and for the same reason it abounds in repetitions of the same ideas: it is poetical, because the speaker is obliged to deal largely in personification, and to employ pictures in words rather than arguments. It must be added, that we have very few genuine specimens of savage eloquence, those which are usually received as such, being the mere inventions of romance.

Father Lafitau tells a very amusing story illustrative of this subject.—“He and his brother missionaries,” he says, “while residing among the Hurons of North America, had a servant who did not know a single word of the language of the Indians, but had caught what may be called its accent very correctly, so that he could give a good imitation of the general effect of it upon the ear: and this man, merely to amuse himself, was wont to make long speeches to the savages in a jargon literally having no meaning whatever, to which his hearers used to listen with great attention, and never doubted were addresses in their own language; only, they said, his style of oratory was so elevated, they could not always comprehend him.” There can be little doubt that these poor people, in listening to their own

countrymen, had sometimes contentedly taken sound for sense; the ignorant do so in every land,—itinerant orators, in our country, have been followed and applauded for jargon, not one whit more intelligible than that of Lafitau's servant.

It is usual to enumerate, among the virtues of barbarians, that they are not only satisfied with their condition, but proud of it. But pride is not a proof of real satisfaction, it is often an attribute of degradation: the Byzantines were never more haughty than when they were purchasing the contemptuous forbearance of the Turks, nor the Romans than at the moment when they paid tribute to Alaric. The Spaniards of our own day, are infinitely greater sticklers for their national superiority to all other Europeans, than they were in the days of Charles V.; and the Mussulmans of Hindoostan regard themselves as more entitled to rule over the Peninsula, than they were in the days of Baber, Acbar, and Aurungzebe. It is the pride which not only accompanies, but seems to increase with degradation, that renders the reformation of a falling people a work of such extraordinary difficulty. The Paçha of Egypt is said to be far more successful in his labours for the regeneration of Egypt, than the Sultan in his exertions to restore the Turks to their rank among European nations; for to raise the fallen is an easier task than to save the falling. Turkish pride of ascendancy will continue long after the ascendancy itself is overthrown, and will probably accelerate the ruin of their remaining privileges; for it is especially in the case of a sinking ascendancy, that "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall."

Many more points of comparison between civilized and savage life could easily be found ; but those already examined are sufficient to shew, that barbarism is not a simple but a highly artificial state,—that it is obliged to have recourse to clumsy and complicated expedients for the maintenance of relations, which, in civilized society involves no difficulty whatever. It appears also, that barbarism cannot be natural to man ; for in the various aspects under which it has been examined, we have found that it opposes the growth and development of the faculties implanted in man by nature, or rather by the Author of Nature ; finally, we have shewn, that it is not a state of happiness, innocence, or peace,—that it is subject to all the storms arising from human passions which agitate civilized society, and must of necessity be the more disturbed ; as among barbarians passions rage without the check or control which is always imposed by civilization.

To a great extent the question between civilization and barbarism is identical with the question between knowledge and ignorance, and hence it was necessary to examine whether the progress of science has in any way increased the amount of human suffering. Few, if any great changes, though ever so great improvements, can be effected without causing loss or inconvenience to somebody, and the complaints of those who suffer are always far louder than the gratulations of those who are benefited. The coachman in "Slick's Letter-bag of the Great Western," only echoes the complaints of the copyists on the invention of printing. "Them was happy days for Old England, afore reforms and rails turned every thing upside down, and men

rode as nature intended they should, on pikes with coaches and smart active cattle, and not by machinery like bags of cotton and hardware." It is was therefore necessary to investigate some points belonging rather to comparative civilization than to the extreme of barbarism; and to shew that every advance of civilization, every increase in the amount of knowledge, adds to the moral improvement of individuals, and the general benefit of society. Except in the lowest states of barbarism, we find nothing immutable in human nature; changes must come, whether we desire them or not,—time must generate new ideas, leaving us to arrange their relations to the common stock. If these ideas be developed by knowledge, they will become beneficial truths, if they be appropriated by ignorance, they will generate pernicious falsehoods.

CHAPTER IX.

VARIETIES OF SAVAGE LIFE.

IN the preceding chapters we have examined the most common attributes of barbarism, and shewn that they are such as necessarily result from ignorance every where. We have hitherto found a sad uniformity in all the communities destitute of knowledge and civilization; and our next inquiry—their capacity and opportunities for improvement—necessarily involves an examination of the varieties of barbarism, and the extent of their influence on humanity.

We may class the barbarous races in three divisions: they are hunters, shepherds, or agriculturists. Not, indeed, that any tribe exists deriving its support exclusively from the chase, from flocks, or from tillage; but that the different divisions make one or other of these pursuits their main source of subsistence. Hunting always appears to have been a favourite mode of subsistence: it gratifies the love of excitement which is equally the characteristic of human nature in savage and civilized life; and this excitement is necessarily greater when the hunter is dependent on the chase for the means of subsistence. The pleasure derived from the excitement of the chase is increased when the sport is perilous, "The danger's self is lure alone;" and hence a spirit of daring adventure is formed, which at once gratifies and developes pride and self-esteem.

We find that this mode of life, with all its adventures, perils and hardships, has such attractions that men nurtured in the lap of luxury, will quit the comforts and enjoyments of civilized life to share in the stimulating sports of the savage hunter, and will cheerfully endure its privations at least for a season, in order to obtain its pleasures. So delightful does their hunting appear to some of the Siberian tribes, that their most bitter curse is, "May you be obliged to keep flocks and herds!"

Hunting, notwithstanding its pleasures, is so very precarious a mode of subsistence that there can be very few tribes dependent upon it alone. Among the Indians of North America there was always some agriculture practised, and the chase is exclusively followed only by those who can exchange their peltry with merchants for necessaries and conveniences. Those who have adopted this wandering mode of life rarely abandon it; there are countless examples of white men adopting all the usages of the Indian hunter, but there is scarcely one example of an Indian hunter or trapper adopting the steady and regular habits of civilized life.

The Indian tribes, since the discovery of North America, have shewn a greater tendency to exchange the stationary for the nomade life, than to abandon roving habits for settled habitations. The history of the tribe of the Cheyennes in Mr. Washington Irving's *Astoria*, shews us that the wandering tribes of the prairies did not become hunters from choice, though after having adopted this roving life they displayed aversion to settled habitations.

"The history of the Cheyennes," says Mr. Irving,

"is that of many of those wandering tribes of the prairies. They were the remnant of a once powerful tribe called the Shaways, inhabiting a branch of the Red River, which flows into Lake Winnipeg. Every Indian tribe has some rival tribe with which it wages implacable hostility. The deadly enemies of the Shaways were the Sioux, who after a long course of warfare proved too powerful for them, and drove them across the Missouri. They again took root near the Warricanne creek, and established themselves in a fortified village.

"The Sioux still followed them with deadly animosity; dislodged them from their village, and compelled them to take refuge in the Black hills near the upper end of the Sheyenne or Cheyenne river. Here they lost even their name, and became known among the French colonists by that of the river they frequented.

"The heart of the tribe was now broken; its numbers were greatly thinned by these harassing wars. They no longer attempted to establish themselves in any permanent abode that might be an object of attack to their cruel foes. They gave up the cultivation of the fruits of the earth, and became a wandering tribe, subsisting by the chase, and following the buffalo in its migrations.

"Their only possessions were horses, which they caught on the prairies, or reared, or captured on predatory incursions into the Mexican territories, as has been already mentioned. With some of these they repaired once a year to the Aricara villages, exchanged them for corn, beans, pumpkins, and articles of European merchandise, and then returned into the heart of the prairies.

"Such are the fluctuating fortunes of these savage nations. War, famine, pestilence, together or singly, bring down their strength and their numbers. Whole tribes are rooted up from their native places, wander for a time about the immense regions, become amalgamated with other tribes, or disappear from the face of the earth. There appears to be a tendency to extinction among all the savage nations; and this tendency would seem to have been in operation among the aboriginals of this country long before the advent of the white men, if we may judge from the traces and traditions of ancient populousness in regions which were silent at the time of the discovery; and from the mysterious and perplexing vestiges of unknown races, predecessors of those found in actual possession, and who must long since have become gradually extinguished, or been destroyed."

The tendency to extinction in hunting tribes, obviously arises from the disproportionately large space which they require for subsistence. When population increases they must either change their mode of life, migrate to another land, or thin their numbers by civil wars. We have no example of hunting tribes remaining in their own land and adopting voluntarily an agricultural or even pastoral life, but we have some reason to believe that many pastoral tribes north of the Oxus and east of the Caspian, have been compelled to exchange the care of flocks and herds for the more precarious labours of the chase. The warlike conquerors who have successively appeared in these regions, have almost invariably commenced their career by professing that they designed to avenge some injury done

to their ancestors. Roderick Dhu's vindication of himself when charged with robbery, is similarly pleaded by the more savage tribes of Tartary, as an excuse for pillaging their neighbours.

These fertile plains, that softened vale,
Were once the birthright of the Gael :
The stranger came with iron hand,
And from our fathers rent the land.
Where dwell we now? See rudely swell
Crag over crag, and fell o'er fell. . . .
Pent in this fortress of the north,
Think'st thou we will not sally forth
To spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robber rend the prey?

In the multitudinous revolutions of Tartary and Mongolia, it is not easy to collect from tradition an authentic series of facts; but all authorities are agreed, that the tribes of the mountains and the deserts declare that they were driven to these wilds and fastnesses by usurping rivals.

The fate of hunting tribes is in a great degree determined by the character of the people in their immediate vicinity. If their neighbours be a people progressively advancing in civilization, they will be driven farther and farther back into the wilds, as the Indians of America have been before the Europeans; but if the nation on their frontiers be weakened by any moral or political cause, the hunting tribes become the aggressors, and migrate into the more civilized country. The incessant civil wars among the pastoral tribes of Tartary, have frequently enabled the ruder hunting tribes to bring them under subjection.

The connexion between war and hunting has been

remarked by almost every writer on either subject. The first conqueror of whom we read was also "a mighty hunter before the Lord." The patience, valour, skill, and discipline, which have been found so valuable in the chase, are not less effective against a human enemy. When hunters become conquerors, they generally commence their career by extermination: it is not until they have learned to appreciate pasturage and agriculture, that they begin to make slaves; as they advance they rest contented with taking tribute from the vanquished nations, and the more distant they are borne by the tide of conquest from their homes, the more ready are they to adopt the usages of those whom they have subdued. When once removed from their own wilds and forests, the conquering hunters disappear more rapidly than any other race, and are sooner merged in the general mass of the population.

Their breath is agitation, and their life
A storm whereon they ride, to sink at last.
And yet so nursed and bigotted to strife,
That should their days, surviving perils past,
Melt to calm twilight, they seem overcast
With sorrow and supineness, and so die;
Even as a flame unfed, which runs to waste
With its own flickering, or a sword laid by,
Which eats into itself, and rusts ingloriously.

A pastoral life is not necessarily barbarous, it presupposes in fact a certain amount of civilization: the art of domesticating animals, and so completely changing their nature as to efface the original type, requires more intelligence than we are accustomed to suppose, and it is not easy to conceive how the attempt could have been originally suggested. It is also very sin-

gular that the number of domesticated species has not been increased by the lapse of time, though at first sight there are many of the untamed animals which might seem more easy to be brought into subjection than those which have been subdued and rendered serviceable. A stag appears a more manageable animal than a wild bull or a wild boar; the giraffe seems, antecedent to experience, not less fit than the camel for journeying in the desert; the fox and the wolf are scarcely less prepossessing than the wild dog, and any one of them seems less mischievous than the wild cat. Hence it appears probable that pastoral life, even in its lowest form, was commenced with a stock of knowledge acquired somewhere. We can readily conceive how a shepherd may become a hunter, but the reverse process is utterly incomprehensible. The transition from chasing and slaying to guarding and tending, is obviously unnatural; and besides, how could the hunter antecedent to experience find out the animals which he ought to select, and how could he discover that they would repay his care?

Pastoral tribes are generally nomades, and in proportion to the extent of their wanderings approximate to the character of the hunting races. The Tartars, for instance, are more erratic than the Arabs; they are also more cruel to captives, more tyrannical to slaves, and more perfidious to enemies. Nor is this difference to be attributed to national character; wherever circumstances have compelled the Tartars to adopt a stationary mode of life, they have shewn capabilities for civilization not inferior to those of any other nation. The Mantchews in China, have adopted the learning, litera-

ture, and jurisprudence of the vanquished, not less readily than the Goths, Vandals, and Franks did in Europe.

But in no instance has a pastoral race, uninfluenced by external circumstances, adopted a new mode of life. The change has always arisen from their being conquered or conquerors. The Scottish Highlands owe their present state of civilization in no small degree, to the military occupation of the country after the battle of Culloden; the superiority of the Mantchews to the Tartars of the desert, arises from their occupation of China. In both cases the civilization was taught from without, not evolved from within.

In the fifteenth century Tartary was visited by intelligent missionaries, whose narratives have been recently published by the Geographical Society of Paris. Plan de Carpin, the most intelligent among them, has left us a very full and minute account of the usages of the Tartars, and in no particular does he vary from the descriptions given by travellers of the present day. The Tartars of his time were ever ready for plundering and kidnapping expeditions,—the Russians know to their cost that they are so now; they exercised the power of life and death in their families, and so they continue to do; their slaves were, and they still are, worse treated than their cattle; the fathers and husbands were capricious despots, and so they remain; finally, indulgence in the worst abominations of licentiousness was a common matter of boast, and such it still continues to be. The character of the Tartars appears in fact to be stereotype, and the same repeated page is their moral history for centuries.

The innocence of shepherds is one of those delusions that poets seem to have rendered inveterate. Lambs are innocent, but shepherds are not lambs; and this is precisely the difference between pastoral poetry and pastoral life. Arcadia, the great locality for the ideas of rural simplicity and happiness, was not chosen as a residence by any of them who celebrated it; indeed, throughout the whole period of its history, it was one of the most degraded districts of the Peloponnesus. The present shepherds of Greece and Italy are described as the very worst part of the population, and those of Spain are notoriously either in connexion with robbers or robbers themselves. In every instance where shepherds form a class unconnected with society, we find them ferocious men, given to violence and brutality, and dangerous neighbours to a civilized community.

We are frequently led astray by the pictures of patriarchal life in the Old Testament. We forget that pastoral life is there represented under special circumstances; the patriarchs continually received guidance and direction from on high; when some among them neglected the heavenly direction, and yielded to their natural impulses, we find them displaying examples of brutal violence and savage sensuality,—for instance, in the history of the sons of Jacob. It was while the Israelites were nomades, that their inspired legislator found it necessary to provide against many revolting crimes which disappeared when they became a settled nation. The Bashkirs, a nomadic people, tributary to Russia, sent a contingent to the army which invaded France in 1813, but whether in a friendly or hostile country, it was found equally unsafe to billet them in

the houses of cities, and they were forced to bivouac in the open squares.

In countries where there are many shepherds, but where they do not form a separate caste, their average of knowledge and morality differs very little from that of the rest of the population. It would be vain to seek among them for the features with which pastoral life has been invested in poetry and romance—just as “love in a cottage,” so long the staple of novels, has no reality, save in,

A cottage with a double coach-house,
A cottage of gentility.

The most marked characteristic of nomade tribes, whether hunting or pastoral, is indomitable pride. They reject improvement and innovation with all the scorn of self-satisfied ignorance. We doubt whether such pride is an element of happiness; it leads inevitably to that contempt for the rights of others evinced by plundering, kidnapping, and butchery—to that unrestrained indulgence of the passions which renders life wretched and uncertain. But this pride is an insuperable obstacle to the progress of civilization; it has prevented the Pawnees from profiting by the example of the Americans, and the Kirghís from deriving any advantage from the instruction of the Russians. The various missionaries who have visited nomade races, found their labours utterly unavailing, so long as a wandering life continued, and they have only succeeded in bestowing the elements of civilization on those compelled by circumstances to adopt a settled habitation.

The progress of civilization, both in North and South America, has been to some degree impeded by the

introduction of the horse. It is an unquestionable fact, that the equestrian tribes are far more savage and untameable than those which have not as yet become horsemen, for the possession of steeds affords a wider range for the indulgence of nomadic habits, and especially for distant marauding expeditions. The change has already become so great, as to attract the earnest attention of the American Congress; but the means of prevention are not so easily discovered as the amount of the evil, for colonization, except on a very large scale, would be more likely to degrade the civilized man, than to elevate the savage.

The agricultural form of barbarous life is principally found in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. When left to itself, it is found to be not less stationary than the nomade forms; for the New Zealanders of the present day are not one whit more advanced than their countrymen when first visited by Captain Cook. But an agricultural race of barbarians offers far greater facilities for civilization than the hunting and pastoral tribes; a greater advance has been made in Hawai within a few years, than has been effected among the natives of America since the first discovery of that continent.

It has been said that savages have seldom or never chosen civilized life of their own accord, but that civilized men have been known voluntarily to adopt the habits and customs of savages. We have seen that this is to some extent true in the case of hunting tribes, whose life of excitement gratifies our natural propensities. The civilized man has only to divest himself of certain tastes, and to forbear the exercise of certain faculties, in order to fit himself for enjoying a

life of adventure; the savage has the double task of laying aside acquired habits, and rousing into action faculties which have lain dormant from his cradle, and become all but extinct from desuetude.

But the change in any case must result from comparison. The American Indians, subsisting by the chase of the elk, the deer, and the buffalo, offer to the view of the white man a life of capital sport, enhanced, as we have already shewn, by its very privations; on the contrary, the Indians are objects of admiration to the white observer, from the superior skill which long practice has given them in detecting the marks of their game, following the animals to their lair, and baffling their attempts to escape by ingenious devices. But the admiration of the Indian is not excited in turn by the superiority of the white man in ploughing and weaving, since he prefers venison to bread, and skins to cloth. In this aspect, civilized life is not attractive to the Indian, but barbarous life is to the white man; and hence, on the outskirts of American population we find a savage race of degenerate whites, "the pioneers" of advancement, who push forward like the Indians themselves, when civilization treads too closely on their heels.

But among agricultural races of barbarians, this picture is directly reversed. The New Zealanders have no beasts to chase; they feed upon fish, or upon the vegetables which they rudely cultivate. Here the superiority of the white man is at once evident; the plough, in the eyes of both, is a better agricultural implement than a sharp stick, and both see that it is easier to weave cloth in a loom than with the hand. Indeed, the passion which the South-Sea islanders

evinced for European articles of dress, is in itself a tacit confession of inferiority. While among the nomades of Asia no curse is deemed more bitter, than "May God put a hat on you!" no higher compliment could be paid to a New Zealander, than to bestow a hat on him.

It may, however, be said, that the process of improvement is likely to be slow; indeed, the reluctance of farmers to adopt any change, however beneficial, has been matter of notoriety from the earliest ages. In Ireland, it was necessary to pass several acts of parliament to prevent fastening ploughs to the tails of the horses, and burning oats in the straw to avoid the labour of threshing; and it is singular to find that the repeal of these acts was among the chief articles demanded from the Duke of Ormond, at the treaty of Kilkenny, in 1648. A century afterwards, both practices are noticed as still existing, by Moffatt, in his *Hiberno-neso-graphia*:

The western isle renown'd for bogs,
For tories and for great wolf-dogs,
For drawing hobbies by the tails,
And threshing corn with fiery flails.

None of these practices were adopted by the English settlers; on the contrary, the Irish gradually adopted the improved system of tillage introduced from Great Britain. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude, that the New Zealander will be induced to adopt improvements in the arts by which he subsists, while it seems improbable that the white man would adopt the more clumsy implements and the less productive culture of the savage.

Climate is the cause of some varieties in savage life ; the colder climates will not admit of such improvidence as is manifested in tropical countries. "Such negligence in providing clothing and habitations, and in laying up stores of provisions, as in warm and fertile countries is not incompatible with existence in a very rude state, would, in more inhospitable regions, destroy the whole race in the course of a single winter." Every exertion of industry, of economy, and of foresight, is an advance in civilization, and an impediment to degeneracy. The early inhabitants of the British isles, even in the most barbarous parts, appear to have been very superior to the South-Sea islanders. They were forced to exercise "the proud prerogatives of humanity"—labour and ingenuity,—and hence it was, even in the earliest time, our national boast—

MAN is the nobler growth these realms supply,
And SOULS are ripened in our northern sky.

CHAPTER X.

THE ARTS OF SAVAGE LIFE.

IN the history of human inventions, few things are more remarkable than the sudden checks which the progress of ingenuity appears to have received from apparently trifling obstacles. The Romans seem to have been for many years on the verge of discovering printing; they used letter-stamps, which might reasonably be expected to suggest the notion of types, and yet centuries elapsed before any one seems to have thought of combining several stamps together. On the other hand, it is generally difficult to discover by whose ingenuity the obstacle was first removed: the origin of printing is one of the most contested points in literary history, and there is scarcely one great improvement in machinery that has not been claimed by several inventors. But while there are doubts respecting the authors and even the countries of inventions, their dates can for the most part be ascertained with tolerable precision, or at least the periods when they began to be brought into practical operation. On examination, it will be found that most inventions of which we have a record, resulted from some want or necessity, created by the existing state of civilization; that there is a great harmony observable in the progress of the different arts, and that improvements are for the most part simultaneous, or nearly so, in the principal

branches of human industry. This harmony is, however, interrupted, when arts are imported from some foreign land; the Russians, for instance, have borrowed several of the most ingenious of the modern processes of manufacture from England and Germany; but a traveller is at no loss to distinguish the imported from the native arts, by the great disproportion of the refinements in the former to the general average of the country.

When we examine barbarous nations, we no longer find the uniformity which is so evident in civilized countries; however low their condition may be, they usually possess one or two processes so far surpassing the intellectual condition of the people, that we can with difficulty believe them to be of native invention. The *boomerang* of the New Hollanders for instance, is a weapon far surpassing Australian ingenuity; the peculiarities of its shape, and mode of use, are such as necessarily to involve a long series of projectile experiments before it could have been brought to perfection; but the Australians as we now find them, are utterly destitute of the contrivance, the observation, and the patience, which such experiments would require. It was for some time believed that this weapon was peculiar to the islands of the Southern seas, and consequently, that it must have been a native invention; but on examining the pictured representations on the Egyptian monuments, we find that a weapon similar to the boomerang, was employed by those who hunted water-birds on the Nile; and allusions to a missile of the same kind, occur in the earlier Greek poets.

The advance in the arts among barbarians is usually

found in weapons of war, or instruments of music. The contrast is very striking between the elaborate workmanship of a New Zealand spear, and the clumsy appearance of one of their fish-hooks: the wooden club or sword, is a formidable weapon in the South seas: but the substitute for the spade is the most miserably inefficient implement that can well be imagined. But among the New Zealanders, proofs have been recently discovered of a greater advance in the mechanical arts having existed at an unknown age, than they were found to possess when first their country was visited by Europeans.

From time immemorial the New Zealanders have been in the habit of burying with their dead the favourite axes, and implements of stone, that were highly prized by their chiefs, while in this state of existence. Some years ago, the removal of one of these articles would have been deemed an act of impious sacrilege; but this feeling is fast disappearing, and the priests, who alone know where these sacred cemeteries are situated, generally die, keeping the secret. But in 1835, Mr. Polack* informs us, "an influential priest was bribed to dispose of an ancient adze, called *toki pu tangàta* by the people: it was extremely ancient, and had been buried in a sandy soil for many years; the place of its interment was only known to the priest, who had noted the spot by the branching of a particular tree called *Rátá*. We afterwards discovered that had the circumstance been known of the priest having sold it, probably the infuriate sticklers for sanctity would have sacrificed the seller to their re-

* Manners of New Zealanders, i. 70.

sentment. The adze was formed of a blue granite, inserted in a handle of the *rátá*, or red pine-wood, carved agreeably to native taste. This instrument, from disuse, is scarcely to be met with in the country." An engraving of the adze is given in Mr. Polack's very interesting work; and both in beauty of execution, and adaptation to its purpose, it is obviously superior to any of the other mechanical implements of which he has given figures. At a future period many oboriginal curiosities will, probably, be discovered by the European colonists, in tilling the ground: Mr. Polack found several pieces of obsidian, or volcanic glass, while turning up a garden on his estate in the Bay of Islands, which doubtless were originally brought from the southward by the natives, for the purpose of making chisels and other implements from the sharp angular points of the crystallized substance. The manufacture of such instruments from obsidian in that part of the island appears to have ceased at a very remote period, in consequence of the incessant wars between the tribes.

It is impossible to look at the specimens we possess of the tattooing of the New Zealanders, and the ornamental carvings on their boats and door-posts, without feeling convinced that the figures must have had some symbolic signification, the sense of which is lost. It is generally known that the pattern for tattooing is not capricious, but that it has direct reference to the tribe and rank of the individual. "Tribes," says Mr. Polack, "are known by such distinctive marks, and many chiefs, whose countenances have never been seen by a distant tribe, are known simply by the distinguishing

mark which has been peculiarly engraved on their countenances. We had several opportunities of testing this fact, from having taken some likenesses of the chiefs residing at the north, and on shewing them to some families resident at a distance upwards of four hundred miles they were immediately distinguished and named, though no connexion existed between these persons, or had they even at any period seen each other. Yet to Europeans, unobservant of national characteristics, and to new comers in the country, the marks of the *moko* appear as if performed by the same person from the same pattern, but the contrary is the fact, an exceedingly *marked* difference exists." In another place he says, "tattooing is the sign-manual and crest of a native chief. In title-deeds of land purchases, or receipts, of any description, the *moko*, or fac-similes, on the face of a chief, are correctly represented by him on paper. The initials, or crest on the seal, attached to the watch, or ring, of a European, is accounted by a native as the *moko* of its owner."

He adds, "they take much pride in adding the various curvatures of the *moko* to their signatures; and our risibility has often been excited in viewing an aged chief, whose scant locks had weathered upwards of eighty winters, drawing, with intense care, his signature, with inclined head and extended tongue, as is the wont of young European practitioners in the art of penmanship."

There are national differences in the process observable among the islanders in the different clusters of the Southern ocean, in the forms which predominate throughout their punctures; and hence there appears to be some reference to a traditionary standard in this

practice, which, in some form or other, appears to have prevailed almost universally amongst barbarous nations. In the time of Moses it appears to have been a common practice among the Canaanites and the various tribes surrounding Palestine, and to have been connected with idolatry, for it is strictly prohibited in the law: "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the Lord." (Levit. xix. 28.) The Picts, Celts, Goths, and Ancient Britons, both painted their flesh and tattooed, or "made cuttings" in it: most writers assert that this was done merely to terrify their enemies; but it seems not improbable that these punctures had a symbolic signification, and were regarded as a kind of armorial bearings, or cognizances.

The hieroglyphics carved on the edifices of the New Zealanders are still more obviously symbols than the punctures on the bodies. They are not approximations to written records, for their signification does not appear to be thoroughly understood by those who use them; but on the contrary, they appear to have every mark of being the traditionary remains of some former act of recording events.

Mr. Nasmyth's very interesting lecture on the bricks of Babylon, published in the "Athenæum" of Saturday March 14th, 1840, gives some singular proofs of the forms of letters having been originally determined by the material used for keeping records, and also of the forms having been preserved long after the materials were changed. Now the hieroglyphics of the New Zealanders are engraved on wood, and yet their forms are such as would seem the least likely to be invented

by wood-cutters ; the lines are flowing curves with rich flourishes, such as would most likely be formed in some soft and plastic material, so that they at once suggest a belief that their archetype was derived from some other art, and that they were applied to wood only when the original and more appropriate material could not be procured.

If this reasoning be correct, we find among the New Zealanders strong evidence of a lost art belonging to a former stage of civilization, more advanced than that which they at present possess. The transition of symbolic records, from significant marks into meaningless ornaments, may be witnessed in our own land. Barge-men, lighter-men, and carriers, who can neither read nor write, frequently devise for themselves a species of hieroglyphics which they understand very well, but which are unintelligible to everybody else. It is not at all uncommon to see these copied by their sons or apprentices, and carved as ornaments on boats and walls, without any reference to their signification, and indeed in all the cases where we have made the inquiry, in utter ignorance of their having any meaning.

Persons who cannot write, form nevertheless a correct notion of the nature and object of writing ; and, as ordinary experience teaches, often aim at effecting the object by such clumsy expedients as Carlton has described in his very amusing sketch, the Geography of an Irish Oath. Supposing a number of such persons to emigrate voluntarily, or of necessity, they would attempt to imitate the form of recording which they had witnessed in their native land ; but the tradition of the meaning being originally imperfect, the knowledge

of it would soon be lost, but the form of record would continue to be copied, either from the natural propensity of man to imitation, or from the sanctity which would soon attach itself to the mystery of the symbol.

In the interior of Africa, the musical instruments are superior in construction to the implements constructed for the practical purposes of life, and the same observation is applicable to various tribes of the South-Sea islanders. But it deserves to be remarked, that among the different tribes, different instruments are found in the higher degree of perfection. The Africans, generally, are pre-eminent in stringed instruments; the inhabitants of the Society Isles were celebrated for their flutes, while others seem to have paid most attention to the drum. The following description of a Tahitian flute, given by Mr. Ellis, singularly elucidates the absence of uniformity in barbarian progress, for it exhibits considerable ingenuity in an article of luxury amongst a people who are ignorant of the spade, the hammer, and the chisel.

“The *vivo*, or flute, was the most agreeable instrument the Tahitians appear to have been acquainted with. It was usually a bamboo cane, about an inch in diameter, and twelve or eighteen inches long. The joint in the cane formed one end of the flute; the aperture through which it was blown was close to the end; it seldom had more than four holes, three in the upper side, covered with the fingers, and one beneath, against which the thumb was placed. Sometimes, however, there were four holes on the upper side. It was occasionally plain, but more frequently ornamented, by

being scorched or burnt with a hot stone, or having fine and beautifully plaited strings of human hair wound round it alternately with rings of neatly-braided cinet. It was not blown from the mouth but the nostril. The performer usually placed the thumb of the right hand upon the right nostril, applied the aperture of the flute, which he held with the fingers of his right hand, to the other nostril, and moving his fingers on the holes, produced the music. The sound was soft and not unpleasant, though the notes were few; it was generally played in a plaintive strain, though frequently used as an accompaniment to their *pelies*, or songs. These were closely identified both with the music and the dances. The *ihara*, the drum, and the flute were generally accompanied by the song, as was also the native dance."

It is important to observe, that no barbarous tribe claims the invention of any of the arts in which it displays special ingenuity. The invention is invariably ascribed to the gods, or to some deified ancestor. The New Zealanders are expert fishermen, though their hooks are clumsy. They ascribe the art of constructing nets to their deity Mawè, and hence it is practised under the sanction of religion. Mr. Polack gives us the following account of the fishing apparatus employed by the New Zealanders.

"Fishing nets of various kinds are used, of excellent quality, and have not the rude stamp that characterises the form and substance of the generality of their instruments. Some of the seines are of enormous extent, and are made by each family in a village working a certain portion of raw flax, which is quickly ripped with

the finger-nails into strips, the boon, or useless gummy matter, at the lateral parts, being discarded. These narrow strips are tied up in bundles, and left to dry on poles in the air. Flax nets, thus made, are remarkably tough, and resist decay for a long time. After being made use of, they are carefully folded up (some of them are about two thousand feet long) and placed on a *wata*, or small scaffold. While in progress of manufacture, the workmen are placed under a strict *tapu* (religious separation), probably an invention thus introduced by a wise observer,* to attach this fickle people to the attainment of one object at once, which they would be doubtless disinclined to follow without some such stimulant. Land-nets are also in frequent use, one of them is in the form of a bag suspended from a hoop, and fixed to a pole; this net is found to be extremely serviceable in fishing for the *kolinda*, or cray-fish, that congregate among the rocks in certain places very numerously; they are sought after by the feet of the fisher, who places his nets near to the fish, and with a dexterous jerk, tumbles the scaly prize into it.

“Fishing baskets, made from a variety of liands, or creepers, that almost form vegetable nets in the dense forests, formed of a large capacity below, and narrowing to a small compass at the mouth, are also made use of to entrap the finny tribes, from which escape is impossible.”

The seine is so considerable an advance in art, and so far beyond the average of inventions possessed by the New Zealanders, that we cannot avoid believing,

* More probably a superstition derived from the supposed divine origin of the art.

that owing to the great abundance of fish on the coast it was preserved when the knowledge of other implements was lost, or that it was introduced by some more civilized foreigners. So late as the close of the seventh century, the inhabitants of Sussex had no means of taking the fish that abounded on their coast, until they were taught by Wilfred, the exiled Archbishop of York, and gratitude for this benefit is assigned by the ecclesiastical historians as one of the principal causes of their prompt conversion.

But although arts advance simultaneously, they are found to present great discrepancies in their decline. Of all the arts possessed by the people of the Pharaohs, the Copts scarce retain any but the hatching of chickens by artificial heat, but in this they have not been surpassed by any other nation. The Hindoos retain their skill in the manufacture of jewellery, and the descendants of the Peruvians are still eminent as lapidaries, though many useful arts possessed by their ancestors have been forgotten.

It would be easy to multiply examples, but those we have mentioned are sufficient for our argument. Mr. Polack, who has with equal care and ability examined the arts and the traditions of the New Zealanders, and compared them with those of other barbarous nations, thus forcibly gives his testimony to the fact, that the elements of civilization which they possess are inherited from ancestors superior to the present race in intelligence.

After detailing their mythic account of the origin of their nation, he says, "The origin of such fables is lost in the gross traditions of the people, but probably they

relate to the earliest of the colonial ancestry of the present descendants, who, gifted with a portion of the knowledge of the civilized tribes from whom they emanated in Asia, communicated to their children a limited account of those arts and inventions ; but obliged by the scarcity of animal and vegetable food in the new country, to devote the principal portion of their time and that of their children towards producing subsistence ; and deprived of those monuments of art they had been accustomed to view in their own country, and unable to give in idea similar knowledge to their children, which had been familiar to them in substance, the latter gradually sunk into the barbarism they have displayed for some centuries past ; their superstitions accumulating as each generation was further removed from the earliest inhabitants, whose superior civilization, which they had imperfectly disseminated, inspired those unpolished children with a spirit of divine admiration. Probably aware that religious ceremonials would alone act as a check on a nation without the means of improving their uncivilized state, the dying patriarchs claimed in consequence divine honours, which they were enabled to effect by improving upon the unqualified devotion displayed by their admiring descendants."

We find then, nearly in all barbarous nations, the relics of a more ancient system of civilization far superior to that which they at present possess ; and traditions ascribing the invention of each of these better processes to some celestial being. The same fact meets us in the early history of most civilized nations : the ancient Greeks, like the modern islanders of the South Sea, averred that they received the first

elements of civilization from the gods, that is, from a race of beings more perfect than themselves. There is a universal consent that the first impulses to improvement were received from a foreign source, and no tribe or nation has yet been found that asserted the spontaneous development of its civilization.

CHAPTER XI.

EVIDENCES OF LOST CIVILIZATION.

WHEN North America was first discovered by Europeans, it was found inhabited by barbarous races, unacquainted with most of the common arts of life. Among the most savage of these Indians were the inhabitants of the wilds on the Mississippi and Ohio, who not only were destitute of civilization, but seemed utterly incapable of appreciating its blessings. Centuries elapsed; the red men, untamed and untameable, retired before the skill, enterprise, and science of the Anglo-Americans; their forests fell beneath the axe, the tangled thickets which covered their soil were cleared away by the cultivator, but their labours instead of revealing a virgin soil, have exhibited to the wondering colonists unquestionable traces of the existence in these regions, at an unknown but very remote age, of a highly civilized race, whose very name has been lost to history. •

Vestiges of tumuli, fortified encampments, mounds and trenches, are found in Western America as far north as the range of the buffalo; their western limit is not known; but on the south they extend through the isthmus of Darien to Peru.* They vary in con-

* It may be necessary to state that part of this description (*ut quiddam notum propriumque*) is taken from an article contributed to the Athenæum, by permission of the proprietors.

struction according to the nature of the soil : in the north they are principally built of earth, but on approaching the Cordilleras they are found to serve as bases for massive stone edifices now in ruins. A fortress at Marietta, and another at the mouth of the Great Miami, are described, by competent persons, as constructed with considerable engineering skill. Such works, it is manifest, could not have been raised by the Indians discovered on the Ohio, who were mere untutored savages, unacquainted with any useful arts save those of the rudest manufacture and most simple necessity. They were also divided into small tribes, having little or no connexion with each other, while there is strong evidence for believing that those who erected these monuments formed one people. The larger camps are constructed near watercourses, and at intervals along the stream tumuli have been raised, which would be visible one from the other were the country cleared of its present forest.

These remains have very recently attracted the earnest attention of American antiquarians, but particularly of the Historical Society of Ohio, which has been in a great degree instituted for their special investigation. Mr. Delafield, at the desire of the Society, has examined several of them personally, and states as the result of his observations, that "a map of North America, delineating each of these ruins *in situ*, would exhibit a connexion between the various groups of ancient walls, by means of intermediate mounds, a signal on which by fire or otherwise would transmit with ease and telegraphic despatch the annunciation of hostile approach or a call for assistance." Garcilasso de la Vega informs us

that such a practice was common among the ancient Peruvians, and that a regular system of telegraphic signals was established throughout the empire of the Incas.

But further inquiries have shewn that these encampments were not all constructed for military purposes; the form, the position, and the arrangement of many, rendering them obviously unsuited to the purpose of a fortress or magazine. There is a remarkable structure at Circleville, described by General Harrison, which seems to have been designed for a place of public assembly.

"The square," he says, "has such a number of gateways as seem intended to facilitate the entrance of those who would attack it. And both it and the circle were commanded by the mound, rendering it an easier task to take than to defend it." Some of the locations appear to have been chosen with direct reference to the facilities which the soil affords for cultivation. Agriculture, in ancient times, seems to have been a great cause of men associating together, and the early operations of farming were undertaken by a community, and not by isolated individuals. All the agricultural operations of ancient Egypt were carried on in the vicinity of cities, for we find it distinctly stated in the history of Joseph, "the food of the field which was round about every city laid he up in the same." It does not appear that these agricultural associations were formed merely for defence, they seem to have been rather designed for co-operation. The structures in the state of Ohio, which most probably were erected to facilitate cultivation, give evidence that the neighbourhood was populous by their great extent, but at the same time,

they shew by their position and form that they would have been unavailing as defences against a foreign invader.

Mr. Delafield informs us that some of the localities have been obviously chosen with reference to the facility of procuring metalliferous ores, smelting them, and manufacturing the metals.

“In Liberty township, Washington county, Ohio, are yet to be seen twenty or thirty rude furnaces, built of stone, with hearths of clay, containing pieces of stone-coal and cinder, perhaps used in smelting ore. Large trees are still growing on them, and attest their age. They stand in the midst of a rich body of iron ore, and in a wild hilly and rough part of the country, better adapted to manufactures than to agriculture.”

This circumstance is the more remarkable, as it has been hitherto generally believed that the use of iron was unknown to the Americans before the discovery of the New World by Europeans. It affords the strongest evidence not only of the possible decline of civilization in a particular country, but also of the possibility of an art being lost, which after having been once possessed would seem almost indispensable to existence.

Some of the military mounds are of great extent: there is one on the river Cahokia, nearly opposite St. Louis, which Dr. M'Culloch declares must have occupied thousands of labourers for many years. But the magnitude of these works is less remarkable than the ingenuity displayed in their construction; several of them, as has already been noticed, display great engineering skill. The fortress at Marietta has a ditch, a

covered way, and a subterraneous communication with the river; that at Miami, has flank defences, bastions placed in perfect accordance with the best principles of fortification, and lines of curtain which General Harrison declares, are "precisely what they should be."

In some districts these structures abound more than in others. General Dearborn informs us that the mounds are so numerous in the neighbourhood of Rock river, that he there examined groups or collections of them, at thirteen places within a distance of fifteen miles. They were from seven to forty-three in number at the various locations, and extended along the bank at some points for more than half a mile. "They extend," he says, "from near the mouth of Rock river, through Illinois, far into Wescousin territory, shewing how densely that region must have been populated some five hundred or five thousand years since."

The mounds mentioned by General Dearborn are for the most part tumuli, bones and other sepulchral relics having been found in them. It is exceedingly probable that further investigations will enable us to form some correct notion of the advance made by this forgotten nation in the domestic arts, for their tumuli, like the Egyptian catacombs and the New Zealand sepulchres, exhibit memorials in the chambers of death of the favourite pursuits of life. Some enterprising persons have opened the great mound called the Mammoth mound, situated near Elizabeth town in Virginia; they fitted up the interior as a museum, in order to display the several objects discovered in the course of their excavations. The exhibition was opened to the public

in the summer of 1839, and it has proved one of the most interesting in America. The following abridgment of the description published by the proprietors, has recently appeared in the London "Athenæum."

"The workmen commenced at the north wing. They cut an arched tunnel or entrance ten feet high, seven wide, and one hundred and eleven in length, when they struck on the mouth of a vault. This vault was found to be seven feet high, and in length eight by twelve feet, north and south. After commencing the tunnel the first thing discovered was the appearance of charcoal, with fragments of burnt bones, traces of which continued to the entrance of the vault. Within fourteen feet of the mouth of the vault they struck on the original entrance or passage, descending like the entrance of a cellar, apparently supported by timbers. Within this vault were found two skeletons; the first nearly perfect—not one tooth missing—supposed to have been placed erect, but it had fallen near the wall, and been preserved by the sand which had crumbled over it. On the opposite side lay another skeleton, the bones much broken. With the latter were found 650 ivory beads, and near the breast an ivory ornament of peculiar construction, about six inches in length. From the centre of this vault they proceeded to cut or excavate an opening eleven feet in diameter, to the top, a distance of sixty-three feet. After proceeding about half way, they struck on another vault, eight feet by eighteen, east and west. In this were found one skeleton and its ornaments, consisting of 1700 ivory beads, 500 sea-shells, 150 pieces of isinglass, and five copper bands, worn round the wrist, weighing seven-

teen ounces, also a small stone, about two inches in length and one and a half in width, with marks resembling letters and figures, and several other small trinkets."

Any person who examines the engravings of these copper bands, published by the Historical Society of Ohio, must at once be convinced that the marks on them are written records, though it is impossible to determine whether they are alphabetical or ideagraphic. In either case, they afford a proof that the art of keeping records may be lost in a country, and consequently tend to strengthen the probability of the interpretation of the New Zealand tattooing and carving given in the preceding chapter.

The description given of the Mammoth mound, corresponds very exactly with the few particulars known of the discoveries made some years since at Teatihuacan, when the great pyramid of Cholula was cut through to make the road from Mexico to Puebla. The workmen, after penetrating a brick wall of enormous thickness, reached a square chamber, elegantly constructed of polished stone, and having its roof supported by beams of cypress wood. In this sanctuary were discovered two skeletons, some vases, and a number of ornaments, which have been either dispersed or destroyed by the ignorant workmen. Humboldt, who saw the *teocalli*, or pyramid of Cholula, before it was laid open and partially destroyed, gives us the following description of its stupendous size and grandeur.

"At a distance it has the appearance of a natural hill, covered with vegetation. It has four stories all of equal height. It appears to have been constructed

exactly in the direction of the four cardinal points. The base of this pyramid is twice as broad as that of Cheops in Egypt, but its height is very little more than that of Mycerinus.* On comparing the dimensions of the House of the Sun, in Peru, with those of the pyramid of Cholula, we see that the people who constructed these remarkable monuments intended to give them the same height, but with a basis of length in proportion of one to two. The pyramid of Cholula is built of unburnt brick alternating with layers of clay."

This construction recalls to mind that of one of the Egyptian pyramids of Sakkara, which has six stories, and which, according to Pococke, is a mass of pebbles and yellow mortar, covered on the outside with rough stones.

Not less remarkable, are the monumental remains of Xochicalco, which some authorities believe to have been a temple, and others a military fortification. It is thus described by Humboldt:—

"To the south-east of the city of Caeinavaca (the ancient Qualmahuac), on the western declivity of the cordillera of Anahuse, in that happy region designated by the inhabitants under the name of *Tierra templada* (temperate region), because it enjoys perpetual spring, rises an insulated hill, which, according to the barometrical measurement of M. Algate, is one hundred and seven metres high.† The Indians call it, in the Aztec dialect, 'Xochicalco, or the House of Flowers.' The hill of Xochicalco is a mass of rocks, to which the

* The length of the base is 1423 feet, and it is 177 feet high.

† Nearly 351 feet.

hand of man has given a regular conic form, and which is divided into five stories or terraces, each of which is covered with masonry. These terraces are nearly twenty metres* in perpendicular height, but narrow towards the top, as in the *teocallis*, or Aztec pyramids, the summit of which was decorated with an altar. The hill is surrounded by a very deep and broad ditch, so that the whole entrenchment is nearly four thousand metres in circumference.† The summit of the hill of Xochicalco is an oblong platform, seventy-two metres‡ from north to south, ninety-six§ metres from east to west. This platform is encircled by a wall of hewn stone more than two metres high,|| which served as a defence for the combatants. In the centre of this spacious military square, we find the remains of a pyramidal monument, the form of which resembles the *teocallis* we have already described. Among the hieroglyphical remains of the pyramid of Xochicalco, we distinguish heads of crocodiles spouting water, and figures of men sitting cross-legged, according to the custom of several nations in Asia.”

Although we shall have occasion to return again to a consideration of the Mexican monuments, we cannot forbear remarking the similarity of this structure to the great temple of Bel, or Belus, at Babylon, as described by Herodotus. “It is a square building, each side of which is the length of two furlongs. In the midst a tower rises, of the solid depth or height of one furlong, on which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the

* About 65 feet. † Rather more than two miles and a half.

‡ 236 feet. § 315 feet. || About four feet and a half.

outside ; which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower, and in the middle of the whole structure there is a convenient resting-place."

The walls around the edifice of Xochicalco seem to explain the design of the embankments raised around the tumuli of North America, which are particularly remarkable in the monumental remains at Circleville and Marietta. We shall in a future page endeavour to shew that these structures were all erected by men of the same race, who continued their hereditary mode of constructing high places in Mexico and Peru, when they migrated, or were driven from their more northern settlements, with the improvements incident to their permanent location there. Stone took the place of their earthen tumuli ; yet the defences were still erected around them for protection from farther predatory incursions of their northern enemies.

But whatever people may have been the builders of the earthen structures in North America, nothing can be better established than the very remote antiquity of the works themselves. General Harrison's reasoning on this subject is too conclusive and luminous to be withheld ; we shall quote his own words, but we cannot do so without expressing regret that he has fallen into the common American error of overlaying his logic with his rhetoric, and that he has disfigured his argument by the worst ornaments of depraved eloquence.

"The sites of the ancient works on the Ohio," he says, "present precisely the same appearance as the circumjacent forest. You find on them all that beautiful variety of trees which gives such unrivalled richness to our forests. This is particularly the case in the

fifteen acres included within the walls of the work at the mouth of the great Miami, and the relative proportions of the different kinds of timber are about the same."

Now the aspect of timber to an experienced woodman affords certain data, established by invariable experience, for ascertaining within certain limits the chronology of the first growth. General Harrison's reasoning on the subject is irresistible:—"The first growth, on the same kind of land, once cleared, and then abandoned to nature, on the contrary, is more homogeneous—often stunted to one or two, or at most, three kinds of timber. If the ground has been cultivated, yellow locusts, in many places, will spring up as thick as garden peas. If it has not been cultivated, the black and white walnut will be the prevailing growth. The rapidity with which these trees grow, for a time, smothers the attempt of other kinds to vegetate and grow in their shade. The more thrifty individuals soon overtop the weaker of their own kind, which sicken and die. In this way there is soon only as many left as the earth will well support to maturity. All this time the squirrels may plant the seed of those trees which serve them for food, and by neglect suffer them to remain,—it will be vain; the birds may drop the kernels, the external pulp of which has contributed to their nourishment, and divested of which they are in the best state of germinating,—still it will be of no avail; the winds of heaven may waft the winged seeds of the sycamore, cotton-wood, and maple, and a friendly shower may bury them to the necessary depth in the loose and fertile soil,—but still without success. The

roots below rob them of moisture, and the canopy of limbs and leaves above, intercepts the rays of the sun and the dews of heaven: the young giants in possession, like another kind of aristocracy, absorb the whole means of subsistence, and leave the mass to perish at their feet. This state of things will not, however, always continue. If the process of nature is slow and circuitous, in putting down usurpation and establishing the equality which she loves, and which is the great characteristic of her principles, it is sure and effectual. The preference of the soil for the first growth, ceases with its maturity. It admits of no succession, upon the principles of legitimacy. The long undisputed masters of the forest may be thinned by the lightning, the tempest, or by diseases peculiar to themselves; and whenever this is the case, one of the oft-rejected of another family will find between its decaying roots shelter and appropriate food, and springing into vigorous growth, will soon push its green foliage to the skies, through the decayed and withered limbs of its blasted and dying adversary,—the soil itself yielding it a more liberal support than any scion from its former occupant. It will easily be conceived what a length of time it will require for a denuded tract of land, by a process so slow, again to clothe itself with the amazing variety of foliage which is the characteristic of the forests of this region. Of what immense age, then, must be those works, so often referred to—covered, as has been supposed, by those who have the best opportunity of examining them, with the second growth after the ancient forest had been regained.”

The chronological inferences derivable from the

growth of trees are of great interest and importance. M. de Candolle has shewn that there is no law of nature on whose invariable validity we may rely with greater confidence, than that dicotyledonous trees increase annually in size by the deposition of an additional layer between the wood and the bark, and that a transverse section of such trees presents the appearance of a series of nearly concentric irregular rings, the number of which indicates the age of the tree.* Among the trees described as growing on the earthen structures of the Ohio, we find several *taxoclia*, a transverse section of which would no doubt establish the minor limit of date to the abandonment of the buildings. We have not found many such observations in the American works on the subject, but from the size ascribed to those trees, we should be led to conclude from analogy, that many centuries were necessary to bring them to their present stage of growth.†

The traditions of the native Indians preserve the memory of the superior race of men to whom these remarkable structures are ascribed. The earliest and best account of this primitive race is thus given by Messrs. Yates and Moulton, in their *History of New York*. "The Lenni Lenape,‡ according to the traditions handed down to them by their ancestors, resided

* See Dr. Pye Smith's *Geology*, for an application of this principle to an argument against the supposed universality of the Deluge, and Babbage's *Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*, for an ingenious suggestion respecting a mode of determining the age of strata by the rings of trees imbedded in them.

† One instance of the age of a tree at Marietta being thus determined, will be found in a subsequent page.

‡ Called also the Delawares.

many hundred years ago in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent. They determined on migrating to the eastward, and accordingly set out in a body. After a long journey and many nights' encampment (that is, halts of one year at a place), they arrived on the Nimorsi Sipu,* where they fell in with the Mengive,† who had also emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon the river a little higher up. Their object was somewhat similar to that of the Delawares; they were proceeding eastwards until they should find a country that pleased them. The territory east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation, who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. These were the *Alligervi*, from whose name those of the Alleghany river‡ and mountains have been derived. This famous people are said to have been remarkably tall and stout; and there is one tradition, that giants were among them—people of a much larger size than the Lenapes. They built regular entrenchments and fortifications, whence they would sally, but they were generally repulsed. M. Hockewelder has seen many of these fortifications,§ two of which are remarkable; viz. one near the mouth of the

* The river of fish, from *namors* a fish, and *sipu* a river. It is now called the Mississippi.

† The Iroquois, or five nations.

‡ Viz., the Ohio, as the Iroquois named it; a branch of it still retains the ancient name.

§ The state of Ohio had not been explored when this was written; the structures described by General Harrison and General Dearborn, far surpass those mentioned by Messrs. Yates and Moulton, but they have only been recently discovered.

Huron, flowing into lake St. Clair; the other on the Huron, east of Sandusky, six or eight miles from lake Erie.

“ The Lenape on their arrival, requested permission to settle in their country. The Alligervi refused, but gave them leave to pass through and seek a settlement farther eastward. They had no sooner commenced crossing the Namorsi Lipu, than the Alligervi, perceiving their vast numbers, furiously attacked them, and threatened them all with destruction if they dared to persist in coming over. Fired at this treachery, the Lenape now consulted about giving them a trial of their strength and courage. The Mengive, who had remained spectators at a distance, now offered to join them, on condition that after conquering the country, they should be entitled to share it with them. Their proposal was accepted, and the resolution was taken by the two nations to conquer or die. The Lenape and Mengive now declared war against the Alligervi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns, and erected fortifications, especially on large rivers and near lakes, where they were successively attacked and sometimes stormed by the allies. An engagement took place, in which hundreds fell, who were afterwards buried in holes, or laid together in heaps, and covered with earth. No quarter was given, so that the Alligervi, finding their destruction inevitable if they persisted in their obstinacy, abandoned the country to the conquerors, and fled down the Mississippi, whence they never returned. The war lasted many years, and was very destructive.”

Mr. Delafield intimates that there exists a tradition of the earthen fortifications having been constructed for the protection against the Mammoth as well as against the attacks of another race. This supposition is not supported by any of the accounts given of the works themselves, and for many obvious reasons appears to be improbable. He states, however, that the line of retreat taken by the conquered people, may be traced by their fortifications to the elevated plains of the Cordilleras, where remains of earthen ramparts may be found, but serving merely as bases, on which are erected massive stone edifices, now in ruins.

There are some sceptical writers who assert that stupendous edifices like the Egyptian pyramids, the Hindoo cave-temples, and the great wall of China, are evidences of barbarism rather than civilization, because they have not any obviously useful purpose. It certainly is not very conclusive reasoning to infer that these structures must be useless, or erected merely for ostentation and vanity, because their purpose is not immediately discoverable in modern times; but whatever force may be attributed to the objection in other cases, it is inapplicable to the case of the earthen structures on the Ohio, for the utility of the edifices is at once apparent. The account given of them by the Rev. Mr. Harris, is so complete that we shall extract it, though at the risk of a little repetition.

“The vast walls and mounds of earth discovered in the western country, have excited the astonishment and baffled the researches of all who have seen or heard of them. The works at Marietta are on an elevated plain above the present bank of the Muskingum, on the east

side, half a mile from its junction with the Ohio. They consist of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines, and in square and circular forms. The largest *square fort*, by some called the *town*, contains forty acres, encompassed by a wall of earth from six to ten feet high, and from twenty-five to thirty-six feet in breadth at the base. On each side are three openings at equal distances resembling gateways.

“From the outlet next the river is a covert way, formed of two parallel banks of earth, two hundred and thirty-one feet distant from each other. On the inside, they are twenty-one feet in height, and forty-two in breadth at the base; but on the outside, average only five feet high. This passage is three hundred and sixty feet long, and probably reached the river when it was constructed.* Within the walls at each corner are elevated squares a hundred and eighty feet long, a hundred and thirty-two broad, and nine feet high; level on the summit and nearly perpendicular at the sides. Circular mounds are seen thirty feet in diameter and five in height.

“Towards the south east is a smaller fort, containing twenty acres, with a gateway in the centre of each side, and one at each corner. These openings are defended with circular mounds. At the outside of the smaller fort is a mound in form of a sugar-loaf. Its base is a regular circle, a hundred and fifteen feet in diameter, and its perpendicular altitude is thirty feet. It is surrounded with a ditch four feet deep and fifteen wide, and defended by a parapet four feet high, through

* More recent investigations have traced the communication quite to the river.

which is an opening or gateway towards the fort, twenty feet wide.

"The places called graves are small mounds of earth, from some of which bones have been taken, in their natural position, of a man buried nearly east and west, with a quantity of isinglass (*mica membranacea*) on his breast. In others, there were some bones, partly burnt, charcoal, arrow-heads, and fragments of a kind of earthenware.

"*Plates of copper* have been found in some of the mounds, but they appear to be parts of armour. These works were covered with a prodigious growth of trees, one of which was felled, and was judged from the concentric circles to be four hundred and sixty-three years old.*

"About ninety miles further up in the country, on a plain bounded by a western branch of the Muskingum, is a train of ancient works, nearly two miles in extent, with ramparts eighteen feet high.

"At Licking are extensive works, some different from those at Marietta, and several circular forts with but one entrance. They have a parapet from seven to twelve feet high, but no ditch.

"Utensils are found four and five feet below the surface. They are quite different in shape and kind from the stone tools and flint arrows of the Indians,

* This circumstance gives a minor limit for the age of the mound, but as the species of tree is not mentioned, we cannot determine whether it was of first or second growth. Later descriptions of Marietta would lead to the inference that the trees are of second or perhaps third growth, which would of course more than double the amount of years that must have elapsed since the abandonment of the fortress.

which are frequently picked up on the surface. They undoubtedly belonged to *a people acquainted with the arts.*

“In some of the mounds have been found *plates of copper rivetted together*, copper beads, various implements, and *a very curious kind of porcelain.* The Indians regard them with as much surprise as we do. There are *inscriptions engraven* on a large stratum of rocks, on the south-east side of the Ohio, two miles below the mouth of Indian or King’s Creek, which empties into the Ohio fifty miles below Pittsburgh. The rocks are horizontal, and so close to the edge of the river that at times the water covers them.

“At the distance of a few yards from the banks of the river, there are several large masses of the same kind of rock, on which there are *inscriptions also of the same kind*, which appear to have been engraven at the same time.

“The town of Tomlinson, state of Ohio, is built upon one of these square forts. Several mounds are within a mile; three of them are higher than the rest. In digging, to build a stable at the end of one of them, many curious stone implements were found; one resembled a syringe; there was a pestle, and several copper beads. In another mound, in Colonel Biggs’s garden, there was a vast number of human bones, stone tools, and a stone signet of an oval shape, two inches long, with a figure in relievo, like a note of admiration, surrounded by two raised rims. Captain Wilson observed, that it was exactly the figure of the brand with which the Mexican horses are marked.

“A tumulus twelve feet high, and a parapet of five

feet, with only one entrance, was surrounded by a regular ditch. One, called the Big Grave, is sixty-seven feet and a half high, with steep sides; the diameter at top is fifty-five feet, but the summit of the apex forms a basin three or four feet in depth; the base is half an acre. It is covered with large trees, and sounds hollow. Its contents may develop the history of these antiquities. The Rev. Doctor (now Bishop) Madison thinks that these were fixed habitations."

Mr. Mill's scepticism respecting the ancient civilization of the Hindoos is founded on the supposed absence of works of utility. The validity of his reasoning will be examined in a future page, but whatever may be its force, we see that the structures on the Ohio are not open to his objections. Bishop Madison's conjecture that the work at Tomlinson was a fixed habitation has been amply verified by subsequent investigation. Both that and the fortress of Marietta appear to have been similar to the towns which still exist in Mongolia, that is, a collection of detached huts or hamlets, enclosed by a common line of defence. From the account given of Nineveh in the Book of Jonah, it would seem that this great city was built on a similar plan. For the prophet's murmurs were checked by the declaration that there were in it "more than sixscore thousand persons who could not discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle."

There is accumulated evidence, to prove that the ancient inhabitants of the Ohio plains were in possession of the arts of working in metals, and of making a species of porcelain, both of which were lost long before the discoveries of Columbus. Some authors have, from this

circumstance, been led to entertain doubts concerning the high antiquity of the Ohio civilization, and to conjecture, that the copper-plates were either obtained by traffic, or were the work of some foreign artisans, accidentally thrown on the American coast. This theory is at once refuted by the great number of these remains, and the wide extent over which they are scattered. We have, in the oldest parts of Scripture, distinct intimation, that metallurgy was one of the earliest arts: describing the situation of the countries adjoining Eden, the historian says, "the land of Havilah containeth gold; there also abdelium and the onyx-stone." It may be remarked, that the Arabic version, instead of the resinous gum called bdellium, reads "pearl;" and as Havilah is generally believed to be the southern part of Persia, it is probable that we have here an allusion to the pearl-fisheries in the Persian Gulf.

Tubal Cain is described as a whetter, or "instructor of every artificer in brass and iron;" from the way in which Jabal and Jubal are mentioned in the preceding verses, it seems exceedingly probable that the several branches of industry at that early period were assigned to families or castes, and as we shall subsequently see, this circumstance will account for the arts, at an early period, attaining a high degree of perfection, and then sinking by premature decay.

But the most minute account of ancient mining operations is that contained in the Book of Job. The passage is so very remarkable, and has been so sadly mutilated in most modern versions, that we shall quote it at length from Mr. Wemyss's admirable translation.

1. Truly there is a vein for the silver,
And a place for gold which they refine.
2. Iron is dug up from the earth,
And the rock produceth copper.
3. Man diggeth into the place of darkness,
And diligently exploreth each extremity;
The stones of darkness, and the shadow of death.
4. The channels of brooks choaked up with sand,
Which, though despised while under the foot,
Are sifted and displayed amongst men.
5. The surface of the earth produceth bread,
But its interior is the region of fire.
6. Among its stones are to be found sapphires,
Spotted with small grains of gold.
7. There is a path which no fowl knew,
Which the vulture's eye hath not descried.
8. Which the wild beast's whelps have not trodden,
Nor hath the swarthy lion stalked over it.
9. Man stretcheth forth his hand to the sparry ore,
He overturneth mountains from their roots.
10. He scoopeth channels through the rocks,
His eye discerneth every precious gem.
11. He restraineth the oozing of the streams,
So that what was concealed becomes radiant.

This remarkable passage suggests some considerations which must not be omitted. In the first verse we find the refining of metals mentioned as an instance of human ingenuity, distinct from the searching of them out. In that and the next verse, four metals are specified, gold, silver, iron, and copper. Now, as there are very few, if any, metalliferous veins in Idumea, it appears obvious that the patriarch could have become acquainted with them only by Egyptian or Phœnician traffic. The extent and accuracy of his knowledge would seem to prove, that commerce between Idumea

* In the ordinary translation this is the 28th chapter.

and other countries was very frequent and extensive in his age, and that the Book of Job may therefore be received as an accurate account of the general state of civilization in south-western Asia at the period in which it was written. We may therefore use this written record as a standard of comparison in estimating the amount of civilization to which other nations attained, and thus viewed, it will be found that the ancient record and the ancient relics mutually illustrate each other.

The different verbs applied to the production of iron and copper are more accurately contrasted in the common translation than in that of Mr. Wemyss. "Iron is *taken* out of the earth, and brass is *molten* out of the stone;" thus intimating that the art of smelting iron was unknown, and that this metal was only used when found in a pure state. As copper in hardness bears the proportion to iron of about eight to nine, it was not very much inferior to it as a material for manufacturing implements before the art of forming iron into steel was discovered. The superior ductility of copper, of course, rendered it a preferable metal for the manufacture of ornaments and utensils.

Mr. Delafield's investigations seem to prove that the art of smelting iron was known to the aborigines of the Ohio, and therefore they, in that process, surpassed the western Asiatics of Job's day, and the Greeks in the time of the Trojan war, for we find no mention of iron implements in the days of Homer. But as the remains of furnaces have been found only in one place, it is probable that the art was but in its infancy at the time when it was swept away.

On the other hand, we find in the Book of Job,

distinct records of extensive mining operations, to which nothing analogous has yet been discovered among the antiquities of America. "The stones of darkness," in the third verse, are obviously ores hid in the deep recesses of the mine; and in the fourth verse we have a manifest allusion to the washing and sifting of metal-liferous sands, for the purpose of extracting the grains of gold which they contain. In the sixth verse we have a description of lapis lazuli, with its gold-like specks of iron pyrites; while the seventh and eighth verses describe with great force, the perilous and awful appearance of the shafts and galleries which human eagerness, more ardent than the vulture, and human enterprise more daring than the lion, constructed in the dark recesses of the earth.

The ninth verse describes the operation of breaking through the stony strata; the tenth exhibits the ancient system of drainage, so important in all mining operations; and the eleventh carries this still farther, by shewing what means were adopted when the subterraneous waters burst into the mine in such abundance as to stop the work. Such is the general view which this passage suggests, and we think that thus closely examined it depicts a greater advance in mining skill than is generally suspected by ordinary readers.

But skill in metallurgy by no means proves a general advance in all other forms of civilization, since it is mainly produced by the facilities for working mines which nature affords. In the mining districts of England we have always found the engineering and mechanical skill greatest where the mines were richest, but we have not found the general average of civiliza-

tion raised in anything like the same proportion. Job clearly describes mining operations in a country where rich metalliferous veins abounded, and where consequently nature herself seems to have both invited enterprise and suggested the mode of working. The same is true of the localities where Mr. Delafield found the remains of ancient American furnaces; and therefore though these afford unquestionable evidence of the palmy state of one great branch of human industry, they by no means justify the extravagant estimates of general civilization which have been thence deduced by some imaginative writers.

The use of metallic mirrors is an obvious mark of refinement; and we find traces of their being employed by Job's cotemporaries, and by the ancient inhabitants of America. Elihu asks the patriarch—

CHAP. xxxvii. 18.

Hast thou with him spread out the sky,
Which is polished like a molten mirror?

Some of the plates discovered in the tombs on the Ohio were, from their shape and the remains of polish still observable, designed to act as reflectors. In a future chapter we shall endeavour to establish the unity of civilization in North and South America, and we may therefore be permitted to quote here Ulloa's description of some Peruvian tombs, the opening of which he witnessed.

"The tombs were in size according with the rank of the deceased; with them were buried their furniture, and instruments of gold, copper, earth and stone. Out of one *græca*,* while we were there, were taken a con-

* Peruvian sepulchre.

siderable quantity of gold utensils. In another, in the jurisdiction of Pastos, great riches were found, some copper axes, *small looking glasses of the Inca stone and of the galinazo or black stone*; the form is circular, and one of the surfaces flat, and as smooth as a crystal mirror; the other oval, and less polished. I saw one a foot and a half in diameter: its principal surface was concave, and greatly magnified objects; and the polish of which could not now be exceeded by our best workmen. A hole is drilled to hang them by.

“They find also *guaqueros*,* for drinking *chica*,† they are made of fine black earth, and some of red earth. They are round, with a handle in the middle; the mouth on one side; and on the other the head of an Indian, excellently expressed. Where they were made is utterly unknown.”‡

We find no allusion in the Book of Job to any fictile manufacture beyond coarse earthenware; and this seems a very striking proof of the high antiquity of the poem, for the Egyptians possessed great skill in pottery at a very remote period. But the specimens of porcelain discovered in North America, unquestionably prove that this branch of industry, which from its connexion with domestic economy is a highly important element of civilization, had been a very extensive and flourishing manufacture.

But no element of civilization is of more importance than the art of recording events. It is only when man begins to register the past, that he obtains a guide to the future. The patriarch Job, in an admirable climax, describes four kinds of writing:—

* Peruvian jugs.

† A favourite beverage in South America.

‡ Ulloa, vol. i. p. 368.

CHAP. xix. 23.

O that even now my words were recorded !
O that they were engraven on a tablet,
With a pen of iron upon lead,
That they were sculptured for perpetuity in a rock.

Here we have first simple writing, probably on the leaf or bark of a tree,—secondly, engraving on a wooden tablet,—thirdly, a more permanent record on a metallic plate, and finally the enduring sculpture on everlasting rock. This appears to be not only a climax of duration, but also of invention. It is not probable that the first attempts at written records should have been made on the hardest substance, and we may very legitimately infer that wherever inscribed rocks are found, there must also have been other less difficult and costly modes of keeping public and private records.

It is unnecessary to cumber this subject with any investigation into the origin of alphabetic writing, a subject which Dr. Wall has recently pursued with great learning and sagacity. Indeed he has established the exceeding probability, if not the absolute certainty of the Book of Job having been originally written in hieroglyphics, and it is sufficiently obvious that the patriarch's exclamation is just as applicable to pictorial or hieroglyphic writing, as to alphabetical. We shall shew that the aborigines of Ohio had some mode of recording events, but we do not possess sufficient data for determining the nature or kind of writing which they possessed.

Captain Carver, who travelled into the interior of North America in the middle of the last century, informs us, "After leaving Lake Pepin, in ten days I arrived at the Falls of St. Anthony (lat. 44° 50'): about

thirty miles below them is a remarkable cave, with a lake in it. I found in this cave many Indian hieroglyphics which appeared very ancient, they were covered with moss. They were cut in a rude manner, upon the inside of walls of soft stone.”*

Humboldt adds, “Amid the extensive plains of Upper Canada, in Florida, and in the deserts bordered by the Orenois, the Cassiquiare, and the Guainia, dykes of a considerable length, weapons of brass, and *sculptured stones*, are indications that those very countries have formerly been inhabited by industrious nations, which are now traversed only by tribes of savage hunters.”†

In another place the same intelligent traveller adds, “The Agteck hatchet, made of feld-spar, passing into the real jade of M. de Saussure, is loaded with hieroglyphics. I am indebted for it to Don Manuel del Roi, of Mexico, and it is in the king’s cabinet at Berlin.

“The Mexicans and Peruvians made use of stone hatchets when copper and brass were very common among them. Notwithstanding long and frequent excursions in the Cordilleras of both Americas, we were never able to discover a rock of jade; and this rock being so scarce, the more are we surprised at the immense quantity of jade hatchets which are found on digging in the plains formerly inhabited, from the Ohio to the mountains of Chili.”‡

Four drawings of the inscribed stone on the Taunton river, were published by Mr. Lort in the third volume of the *Archæologia*, or *Memoirs of the London Anti-*

* Carver’s *Travels*, p. 64. † Humboldt, vol. i. p. 25.

‡ Humboldt, vol. ii. p. 38.

quarian Society. The objects represented are rude figures in outline, and appear as if they were the transition between pictorial representations and hieroglyphics. There are engraved rocks at Dighton, in Narraganset bay, not far from the monument described by Mr. Lort, but the engravings of it published by the Anglo-Americans are so inconsistent with each other, that it is difficult to recognise them as copies of the same original. There are no engraved rocks in the plains of Ohio, for the best of all possible reasons, that no rocks exist in the prairies,—inscribed hatchets and plates are found in the tombs.

We have thus shewn that there is abundant evidence to prove that the land, which on its first discovery was found peopled by one of the wildest races of savage hunters, had at some former period been possessed by a nation who have left proofs of their civilization in their fortresses, camps, warlike and domestic implements, and in arts, the exercise of which required a high degree of refinement.

CHAPTER XII.

FURTHER EVIDENCES OF LOST CIVILIZATION.

"WHEN I returned from Asia to assume the proconsular government of Achaia, as my galley sailed slowly up the Saronic gulf, I began to cast a curious gaze upon the surrounding regions. Behind me lay Ægina, before me, Megara, on my right hand the Piræus, on my left Corinth;—cities which, in times gone by, were the brilliant abodes of opulence and power, but now lay prostrate beneath my eye, in the sorrowful desolation of their present abandonment. The scene came over my spirit with a train of sad, but high-purposed reflections. What? said I,—shall we, feeble creatures of the dust, who by the very tenure of life are only born to die,—shall we repine at the decrees of destiny, or impeach the justice of the immortal gods, if one of us do but perish by disease or violence, when here, in these narrow limits, lie the scattered and unsightly ruins of so many of the noblest among the cities of Greece?—Wilt thou not chasten the murmuring spirit within thee, and in sight of these fallen monuments of the wise and great and glorious of past generations, remember that thou also art but man?" *

These are the words of Servius Sulpicius, addressed to his friend Cicero, who was sinking under the accu-

• Cicero's Letters.

mulated weight of severe private loss and portentous public calamity. The great orator and statesman was weeping over the tomb of his daughter Tulliola—the young, the beautiful, the blest—the treasury in which a father's fondest affections were garnered—the fairest flower among the lovely ones of Latium—the youthful model unanimously recommended for imitation to the wives of Rome! The flower faded before its bloom was unfolded—Tulliola was arrested by premature disease in the very outset of her bright career—"her sun went down while it was yet day;" the doom of early death was pronounced upon her; or, according to the touching superstitions of the ancients, embodied in harmonious verse by a Christian poet,* she received the choicest boon which the gods reserve for their special favourites, an early death.

The patriot suffered not less severely than the father; the blood of the best and boldest of the Roman warriors had been poured out like water on the plains of Pharsalia;—hearts that would have dared, and hands that would have achieved, the conquest of a world, were now dull clods of senseless clay. The conscript fathers, the imperial senators, on whose debates the fate of millions had been suspended, had either fallen in the civil contest, or were wandering about in strange lands,

- Weep not for those whom the veil of the tomb,
In life's happy morning hath hid from our eyes,
Ere sin threw a light o'er the spirit's young bloom,
Or earth had profaned what was born for the skies.
Death chill'd the fair fountain ere sorrow had stain'd it,
'Twas frozen in all the pure light of its course,
And but sleeps 'till the sunshine of heaven has unchain'd it,
To water that Eden where first was its source.

hopeless, helpless exiles, save those who, self-doomed
to a worse fate, bowed in ignoble sycophancy before
triumphant despotism,

Establish'd violence and lawless might,
Avow'd and hallow'd by the name of right.

The magnificent institutions of ancient Rome, won
against vast odds by her earliest patriots, cherished
through successive ages of weal and woe, cemented by
the blood and toil of heroes and sages, were now trodden
into the dust under the iron-shod hoofs of barbarian
cavalry, and the coarse feet of traitorous infantry. The
majesty of Rome was a senseless carcass, and the eagles
had gathered round their legitimate prey.

To Cicero, thus standing amid the dissolving frame
of his country's grandeur, Sulpicius pointed out those
evidences of decayed civilization, in a land which nature
seemed to have formed as the very home and sanctuary
of freedom, and where the external world retained, and
still retains, all the physical advantages necessary to
foster and protect the dignity and the happiness of
man.

And yet how lovely, in thine age of woe,
Land of lost gods and godlike men, art thou!
Thy vales of evergreen, thy hills of snow,
Proclaim thee Nature's varied favourite now:
Thy fanes, thy temples to thy surface bow,
Commingling slowly with heroic earth,
Broke by the share of every rustic plough:
So perish monuments of mortal birth,
So perish all in turn, save well-recorded worth:
Yet are her skies as blue, her ways as wild;
Sweet are her groves, and verdant are her fields,
Her olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
And still his bonied wealth Hymettus yields;

There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
 The free-born wanderer of her mountain air;
 Apollo still her long, long summer gilds,
 Still in his beam Mendeli's marbles glare:
 Art, Glory, Freedom fail—but Nature still is fair.

Since these lines were written, Greece has regained her independence; the iron yoke of barbarism has been broken, and the crescent has sunk before the cross. But still vainly do we seek for patriotism in the country of Phocion and Aristides, for political wisdom in the land of Pericles and Cimon, or for a sense of moral duty in the home of Socrates and Plato. Better, far better is it for the traveller to seek the magic creations of the chisel of Phidias in the shapeless and mutilated fragments of statues, friezes, and temples that he treads beneath his feet.

Here is abundant evidence of lost civilization; here too is the still more awful warning, that to destroy is easy, while to restore is all but impossible. The eloquent silence of ruin here proclaims to those nations which still hold the sacred treasure of civilization, that its continuance depends on incessant vigilance, and its preservation on constant watchfulness. They must ever have "their loins girded, and their lamps burning;" their course runs along the verge of a precipice, and, descent once begun, will proceed with accelerating velocity. The progress of decline is traced in the well known lines, *Facilis descensus Averni, etc.*, or as Dryden renders them—

The gates of hell are open night and day,
 Smooth the descent and easy is the way:
 But to return and view the cheerful skies,
 In this the task of mighty labour lies;
 To few great Jupiter imparts that grace,
 And those of shining worth and heavenly race.

Deeper and harsher are the characters in which this bitter truth is graved upon the favoured fields and sunny slopes of Italy.

Italia! oh, Italia! thou who hast
 The fatal gift of beauty, which became
 A funeral dower of present woes and past,
 On thy sweet brow is sorrow ploughed by shame,
 And annals graved in characters of flame;
 O God! that thou wert in thy nakedness
 Less lovely or more powerful, and couldst claim
 Thy right, and awe the robbers back, who press
 To shed thy blood, and drink the tears of thy distress.*

"Rome is the grave of Rome," and no "*resurgam*," is inscribed upon the tomb.

We began this argument by quoting the words of

"The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind;"

we may appropriately conclude it by the parallel reflections suggested to an intelligent American, Mr.

* Lord Byron in this stanza has partly imitated the well-known sonnet of Filicaja: the same sentiments have been no less powerfully expressed by Alessandro Marchetti, which have been thus translated by Mrs. Hemans:

Italia! oh, no more Italia now!
 Scarce of her form a vestige dost thou wear.
 She was a queen with glory mantled; thou
 A slave degraded, and compelled to bear.
 Chains gird thy hands and feet; deep clouds of care
 Darken thy brow, once radiant as the skies;
 And shadows, born of terror and despair—
 Shadows of death, have dimm'd thy glorious eyes,
 Italia! oh Italia, now no more.
 For thee my tears of shame and anguish flow;
 And the glad strains my lyre was wont to pour
 Are changed to dirge-notes; but my deepest woe
 Is, that base herds of thine own sons the while,
 Behold thy miseries with insulting smile.

Cushing, while travelling through the ruined cities of Spain.

"I stood on a hillock of red earth, just variegated by fragments of marble, with half a dozen mutilated columns in the distance, protected by the good monks of San Isidro against the ravages of time. It was all that subsisted of the birth-place of Trajan. To this were the riches and architectural beauty of Italica reduced. A bright expanse of *intervale*, watered by the meandering Guadalquivir and its tributary streamlets, stretched out in verdure and fertility far as the sight could reach, breathed upon by the balmy influences of a southern sky. Nature retained her undying charms; it was the same lovely landscape on which Seneca and Lucan might have gazed in the olden time, and it was the natal atmosphere of the splendid Trajan. But the men, and the monuments they reared, had passed away together, leaving only the memory of their greatness to ennoble the spot. It was then I felt in its full force the truth so finely embodied in the stanzas of that poet, who is the great intellectual phenomenon of our time, and who, while given up to unspeakable profligacy of conduct, and with principles as perniciously false as the habitual course of his life was deplorably corrupt, yet, in his moments of better inspiration, struck out some of the grandest conceptions that poet or philosopher has ever uttered.

"Alas! the lofty city! and alas!

The trebly hundred triumphs! and the day
When Brutus made the dagger's edge surpass
The conqueror's sword in bearing fame away!
Alas, for Tully's voice, and Virgil's lay,
And Livy's pictured page: but these shall be

Her resurrection ; all beside decay.
 There is the moral of all human tales ;
 'T is but the same rehearsal of the past,
 First Freedom, and then Glory ; when that fails,
 Wealth, Vice, Corruption, Barbarism at last ;
 And History, with all her volumes vast,
 Hath but *one* page,—'t is better written here.

"This moral of all human tales, this rehearsal of the past, this one page of all the vast volumes of history, which Sulpicius read from the crushed arches and splintered columns of Corinth, and Byron from the indistinguishable heaps of the Palatine hill of Rome,—the eternal truth, deducible alike from the deep lore of reverend antiquity, and the more superficial wisdom of our own straightforward practical age ; namely, the inseparable connexion between private virtue and national greatness,—how could it fail to rise up before me, as I stood on the hill of Santiponce and gazed on the few memorials of Italica, which have survived the fury of the Vandal, the Goth, and the Moor ?"—*

For Time hath not rebuilt them, but uprear'd
 Barbaric dwellings on their shatter'd site,
 Which only make more mourn'd and more endear'd,
 The few last rays of their far scatter'd light,
 And the crush'd relics of their shatter'd might.
 The Roman saw these tombs in his own age,
 These sepulchres of cities which excite
 Sad wonder, and his yet surviving page
 The moral lesson bears, drawn from such pilgrimage.

In the preceding chapter we have given evidence that a highly-civilized race once occupied the prairies and forests of Ohio, where barbarism in its worst form was found triumphant when America was first dis-

* Cushing's Reminiscences of Spain.

covered. There are persons who cannot believe that civilization could have fallen so completely as to change this nation, which has left such striking proofs of its advancement, into the wild Indian hunters of more modern times. They declare that the natural character of the Indians renders them incapable of receiving civilization, and they appeal to correct representations of Indian life, as decisive proofs of their theory. Before entering on the investigation of this point, it is but fair to take the picture of Indian character drawn by a contributor to the *North American Review*,* who claims accurate knowledge of the subject, and whose views are generally received by his countrymen, as the correct results of observation and experience.

“There is nothing pleasing to the imagination in the dirty and smoky cabin of the Indian chief; there is nothing romantic in his custom of sleeping away the days of leisure from the perils of war or the adventures of the chase; there is not a particle of chivalry in the contempt with which he regards his squaw, and the unmanly cruelty by which he binds upon her burdens grievous to be borne. His whole life is surrounded by the dismal accompaniments of poverty, sensuality, ignorance, and vice. In the arts, he has never learned to do more than supply his coarsest animal wants. His taste for ornaments cannot well be more despicable. He rings his nose, as farmers ring their pigs, to keep them out of mischief; he daubs his body over with hideous colours, which give him the appearance of a devil; he puts horns upon his head, or sticks it all over with gaudy feathers; and then he is a finished

* No. 100.

specimen of the Indian fine gentleman. In his amusements, his taste is equally refined with his taste in dress. His war dances and funeral dances are mere contortions, exhibiting every form of ungraceful bodily action; and these are accompanied by a species of music consisting of a rude movement in time, and certain unmeaning howls, compared with which, the barking of wolves and the growling of bears are melody itself. His warfare is a compound of cruelty and cowardice. His point of honour is, to entrap his enemy unawares, and with no danger to himself; his glory, on returning to his native village, he places in exhibiting the greatest possible number of scalps, torn bleeding from the heads of his murdered victims. His treatment of a captive enemy, is horrible beyond description. His highest enjoyment consists in taunting him with insults and reproaches in the midst of the fiercest death-agonies, which his diabolical skill enables him to invent. His sagacity is bounded to the discovery of a trail or track; his wisdom consists in a few wise saws handed down from his ancestors, and treasured up by the old women of the village. When in council, he dresses these scanty ideas with a touch or two of forest rhetoric,—and that is his eloquence, and his statesmanship. How can it be any thing more? To what circle of experience, to what treasuries of knowledge, can he resort for the enlargement of his mind and the cultivation of eloquence? What occasion has his simple life for any thing more copious in thought, and more polished in language? His religion is founded upon the simple conception of a Supreme Being, and that is always sublime; but what attributes

belong to this conception of the Supreme Being, can easily be inferred from the Indian's customs and his conduct. How unworthy of a God, his notions of Him are, it is unnecessary to illustrate, for it is known to all. His views of another life are distinct enough, but utterly insufficient to produce any exalting tendency in his conduct and character in this. They are low, gross, sensual. They have scarcely a glimmering of the light of imagination to redeem them from the most deplorable darkness."*

* It is worth while to contrast this picture with the spirited sketch of Indian character given by the author of Yamoeden.

Know ye the Indian warrior race?
How their light form springs in strength and grace,
Like pine on their native mountain side
That will not bow in its deathless pride;
Whose rugged limbs of stubborn tone,
No flexuous power of art will own,
But bend to Heaven's red bolt alone!
How their hue is deep as the western dye,
That fades in the autumn's evening sky,
That lives for ever upon their brow,
In the summer's heat and the winter's snow;
How their raven locks of tameless strain,
Stream like the desert courser's mane;
How their glance is far as the eagle's flight,
And fierce and true as the panther's sight;
How their souls are like the crystal wave,
Where the spirit dwells in the northern cave;
Unruffled in its caverned bed,
Calm has its glimmering surface spread;
Its springs, its outlet unconfess'd,
The pebble's weight upon its breast,
Shall wake its echoing thunders deep,
And when their muttering accents sleep,
Its dark recesses hear them yet,
And tell of deathless love or bate.

Here are sufficient proofs of the absence of civilization, but not one particle of evidence to establish the asserted incapacity for civilization. On the contrary, the reviewer unintentionally affords proof that at some former period the Indians were farther advanced in knowledge than they are at present. He speaks of "the wise saws handed down from his ancestors and treasured by the old women of the village;" these aphorisms, often replete with sound sense and intelligence, have been noticed by every traveller who has ever visited an Indian tribe. They all record with astonishment, that they find traditionary specimens of eloquence and wisdom far surpassing the powers of invention possessed by the existing generation, but they do not see that this legendary lore is as decisive a proof of former civilization as the ruins of cities and the traces of fortifications.

We have endeavoured to shew that the amount of civilization possessed by the race that erected the structures on the Ohio, did not probably surpass the average of Asiatic civilization in the days of Job. The decline of the Indians from such an amount is not greater, indeed is not so great, as that of the Greeks since the days of Alexander, or of the Italians since the last of the Cæsars, or of the Spaniards since the time of Charles V. It is doubtful if the Greek Klephtes were one whit superior to the North American Indians: the descriptions which travellers have given of the savagery of the Morea, particularly in the Laconian mountains, fully equal the darkest pictures of the savagery of North America. Idumea, which in the days of Job had attained an appreciable standard of

civilization, which it subsequently far surpassed, as the ruins of Petra fully prove, is now tenanted by a race inferior to all but the lowest tribes in North America. Civilization has disappeared, but the race which once possessed it still continues,—conquerors cannot exterminate a nation; “they only cut down the tallest poppies;” the dwarfs propagate their kind, and every succeeding crop being carefully weeded of its best plants by the jealous vigilance of those interested in stunting its growth, continues to degenerate until the memory of the strength and beauty of former harvests is lost in utter oblivion.

And thus they plod in sluggish misery,
Rotting from sire to son, and age to age,
Proud of their trampled nature, and so die
Bequesting their hereditary rage
To the new race of unborn slaves, who wage
War for their chains, and rather than be free,
Bleed, gladiator-like, and still engage
Within the same arena, where they see
Their fellows fall like leaves of the same tree.

When the Anglo-Normans had destroyed every thing that was good and great among the Saxons, they taunted them with their mental inferiority, and made it an excuse for increased severity of vassalage. This is the old triad of tyrants, recorded in every page of ancient and modern history;—they oppress by their cruelty, they plunder by their rapacity, and as an apology for both, they slander by their malice.

Several specimens of genuine Indian speeches have been recently published in America. They are as unlike as possible to the tawdry eloquence invented for “the children of nature,” by certain poets and philo-

sophers, but they display a shrewdness and power of thought which evince a great capacity for improvement. The late Pushmataha indeed, shewed that in one important science he surpassed a great number of able men among ourselves, for in his defence of polygamy, he proved that he could appreciate and apply the evidence of statistics. When asked, did he not think it wrong to take two wives? he replied; "No. Is it not right that every woman should be married?—and how can that be, when there are more women than men, unless some men marry more than one? When our great father, the President, caused the Indians to be counted last year, it was found that the women were most numerous; and if one man could have but one wife, some woman would have no husband."

An unusual number of Pushmataha's speeches has been preserved; but the most striking of all is that addressed, just before his death, in Washington, to his Indian friends.

"I shall die, but you will return to our brethren. As you go along the paths, you will see the flowers and hear the birds sing; but Pushmataha will see them and hear them no more! When you shall come to your home, they will ask you, 'Where is Pushmataha?' and you will say to them, 'He is no more!' They will hear the tidings, like the fall of a mighty oak in the stillness of the woods."

The exploits of Tecumthè as a warrior, are matter of history. He laboured and partially succeeded in forming a union to expel the whites from the valley of the Mississippi; but his followers could not resist "the rifles of Kentucky:" he fell in defence of national

independence, and the brutal conquerors, who called themselves civilized men, barbarously mutilated his senseless corpse. Tecumthè exhibited some of the qualifications of a legislator, a statesman, and a philosopher. He maintained a very plausible theory of Indian rights, and argued strenuously against the validity of treaties ceding lands to the whites. It was in substance, that as the Great Spirit had given them to all Indians for hunting grounds, and as each tribe had a right to certain tracts of country while they occupied them and no longer, so that one might take possession when another moved away—no tribe had a right to alienate that, of which they had only a temporary possession; and consequently that treaties made without the consent of the whole of the tribes, are void. On one occasion, ridiculing the idea of selling a country, he exclaimed, "Sell a country! Why not sell the air, the clouds, and the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?"

But the most singular proof of Indian capacity has been afforded by Sequoyah, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. It is but fair to say, however, that his father was a white, though as his education was Indian, this circumstance does not in our opinion weaken the argument. His story, as we find it in the *North American Review*, is a pleasant one.

"Instead of joining the rude sports of Indian boys, while a child, he took great delight in exercising his ingenuity by various mechanical labours. He also assisted in the management of his mother's property, consisting of a farm, and cattle, and horses. In his

intercourse with the whites, he became aware that they possessed an art, by which a name, impressed upon a hard substance, might be understood at a glance, by any one acquainted with the art. He requested an educated half-blood, named Charles Hicks, to write his name; which being done, he made a die, containing a fac-simile, of the word, which he stamped upon all the articles fabricated by his mechanical ingenuity. From this he proceeded to the art of drawing, in which he made rapid progress, before he had an opportunity of seeing a picture or engraving. These accomplishments made the young man very popular among his associates, and particularly among the red ladies; but it was long before incessant adulation produced any evil effect upon his character. At length, however, he was prevailed upon to join his companions, and share in the carouse, which had been supplied by his own industry. But he soon wearied of an idle and dissipated life, suddenly resolved to give up drinking, and learned the trade of a blacksmith by his own unaided efforts. In the year 1820, while on a visit to some friends in a Cherokee village, he listened to a conversation on the art of writing, which seems always to have been the subject of great curiosity among the Indians. Sequoyah remarked that he did not regard the art as so very extraordinary, and believed he could invent a plan by which the red man might do the same thing. The company were incredulous; but the matter had long been the subject of his reflections, and he had come to the conclusion, that letters represented words or ideas, and being always uniform, would always convey the same meaning. His first plan was to invent

signs for words ; but upon trial he was speedily satisfied, that this would be too cumbrous and laborious, and soon conceived the plan of an alphabet, which should represent sounds, each character standing for a syllable. He persevered in carrying out this invention, and attained his object by forming eighty-six characters.

“While thus employed, he incurred the ridicule of his neighbours, and was entreated to desist by his friends. The invention, however, was completely successful, and the Cherokee dialect is now a written language; a result entirely due to the extraordinary genius of Sequoyah. After teaching many to read and write, he left the Cherokee nation in 1822, on a visit to Arkansas, and introduced the art among the Cherokees who had emigrated to that country; and, after his return home, a correspondence was opened, in the Cherokee language, between the two branches of the nation. In the autumn of 1823, the general council bestowed on him a silver medal in honour of his genius, and as an expression of gratitude for his eminent public services. This extraordinary man is now with his countrymen west of the Mississippi.”

General Harrison expresses a very favourable opinion of the endowments and native qualities of the Indians, and bears his testimony to the high susceptibilities of their moral and intellectual nature. He has had frequent communication with them, as governor of the north-western territory, and he pays a deserved tribute to many of the Sachems, or chiefs, for high talents and elevated moral worth.

We extract the following very interesting anecdote from a recent number of the Quarterly Review; it forms

part of an article evidently written by a person who has had opportunities of closely examining Indian life:—

“A few years ago, a Pawnee warrior, son of ‘*Old Knife*,’ knowing that his tribe, according to their custom, were going to torture a Paduca woman whom they had taken in war, resolutely determined, at all hazards, to rescue her, if possible, from so cruel a fate. The poor creature, far from her family and tribe, and surrounded only by the eager attitudes and anxious faces of her enemies, had been actually fastened to the stake—her funeral pile was about to be kindled, and every eye was mercilessly directed upon her, when the young chieftain, mounted on one horse, and, according to the habit of his country, leading another, was seen approaching the ceremony at full gallop.—To the astonishment of every one, he rode straight up to the pile—extricated the victim from the stake—threw her on the loose horse, and then vaulting on the back of the other, he carried her off in triumph!

“She is won! we are gone—over bank, bush, and scaur;

‘They’ll have fleet steeds that follow,’ quoth young Lochinvar.”

The deed, however, was so sudden and unexpected—and, being mysterious, it was at the moment so generally considered as nothing less than the act of the Great Spirit, that no efforts were made to resist it, and the captive, after three days’ travelling, was thus safely transported to her nation, and to her friends. On the return of her liberator to his own people, no censure was passed upon his extraordinary conduct—it was allowed to pass unnoticed.

On the publication of this glorious love-story at Washington, the boarding-school girls of Miss White’s

seminary were so sensibly touched by it, that they very prettily subscribed among each other to purchase a silver medal, bearing a suitable inscription, which they presented to the young Red-skin, as a token of the admiration of *white-skins* at the chivalrous act he had performed, in having rescued one of their sex from so unnatural a fate. Their address closed as follows:—

“Brother! accept this token of our esteem; always wear it for our sakes; and when again you have the power to save a poor woman from death, think of this, and of us, and fly to her relief.”

The young Pawnee had been unconscious of his merit, but he was not ungrateful:—

“Brothers and sisters!” he exclaimed, extending towards them the medal which had been hanging on his red naked breast, “this will give me ease more than I ever had, and I will listen more than I ever did to white men.

“I am glad that my brothers and sisters have heard of the good act I have done. My brothers and sisters think that I did it in ignorance; but I now know what I have done.

“I did it in ignorance, and did not know that I did good; but by giving me this medal I know it!”

About twenty years ago the President of the United States recommended to a Pawnee chief who came to visit him at Washington, that he and his tribe, under the superintendence of the missionaries, should cultivate their land like white people. “The unlettered savage,” says the Quarterly Reviewer, “after having listened with the greatest attention, made the following speech, translated by a sworn reporter, and which we present

to our readers as a fine specimen of unpremeditated oratory.

"My Great Father! I have travelled a long distance to see you. I have seen you, and my heart rejoices: I have heard your words: they have entered one ear and shall not escape out of the other: I will carry them to my people as pure as they came from your mouth.

"My Great Father, I am going to speak the truth! the Great Spirit looks down upon us, and I call Him to witness all that may pass between us on this occasion. The Great Spirit made us all: He made my skin red, and yours white. He placed us on this earth, and intended we should live differently from each other. He made the whites to cultivate the earth and feed on tame animals, but He made us red men to rove through the woods and plains, to feed on wild animals, and to dress in their skins. He also intended that we should go to war to take scalps, steal horses, triumph over our enemies, promote peace at home, and the happiness of each other. I believe there are no people of any colour on this earth who do not believe in the Great Spirit—in rewards and punishments. We worship Him, but not as you do. We differ from you in religion as we differ in appearance, in manners, and in customs. We have no large houses as you have, to worship the Great Spirit in. If we had them to-day, we should want others to-morrow, because we have not, like you, a fixed habitation, except our villages, where we remain but two moons out of twelve. We, like animals, roam over the country, while you whites live between us and Heaven; but still, my Father, we love the Great Spirit.

"My Great Father, some of your chiefs have proposed

to send good people (missionaries) among us to change our habits, to teach us to work, and live like the white people. I will not tell you a lie. *You* love your country, *you* love your people: *you* love the manner in which they live, and *you* think your people brave. I am like you, my great Father! *I* love my country, *I* love my people, *I* love the life we lead, and think my warriors brave.

"Spare me then, my Father. Let me enjoy my country, let me pursue the buffalo, the beaver, and the other wild animals, and I will trade the skins with your people. It is too soon, my great Father, to send your good men among us. Let us exhaust our present resources before you interrupt our happiness and make us toil. Let me continue to live as I have lived, and after I have passed from the wilderness of my present life to the Good or Evil Spirit, my children may need and embrace the offered assistance of your good people.

"Here, *my Great Father*, is a pipe which I offer you, as I am accustomed to present pipes to all Red-skins who are in peace with us. I know that these robes, leggins, mocassins, bears'-claws, etc., are of little value to *you*; but we wish them to be deposited and preserved, so that when we are gone, and the earth turned over upon our bones, our children, should they ever visit this place, as we do now, may see and recognise the deposits of their fathers, and reflect on the times that are past."

We could easily multiply anecdotes to prove that capacity for civilization is not wanting to the Red race; that they have not benefited by their contact with the European colonists, is simply owing to the tyrannous use which the civilized races have made of their superior power. The whites had the strength of giants, and

they used it like giants. Let us examine the graphic and accurate account of the course pursued towards the Indians, presented to us by the Quarterly Reviewer.

"The vast Indian empires of Mexico and Peru have, as we all know, been as completely depopulated by the inhabitants of the Old World, as the little cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were smothered by the lava and cinders of Vesuvius.

"In less populous, though not less happy regions, by broadsides of artillery, by volleys of musketry, by the bayonet, by the terrific aid of horses, and even by the savage fury of dogs, the Christian world managed to extend the lodgment it had effected among a naked and inoffensive people.

"In both hemispheres of America the same horrible system of violence and invasion are at this moment in operation. The most barbarous and unprovoked attempts to exterminate the mounted Indians in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres have lately been made. In the United States upwards of thirty-six millions of dollars have been expended, during the last four years, in the attempt to drive the Seminoles from their hunting-grounds. What quantity of Indian blood has been shed by this money is involved in mystery. The American general in command, it is said, tendered his resignation unless he were granted, in this dreadful war of extermination, the assistance of bloodhounds; and it has also been asserted that, on a motion being made in one of the State legislatures, for an inquiry into this allegation, the proposition was negatived and the investigation suppressed. At all events the aggression against the Seminoles still continues; a pack of

bloodhounds *has* already been landed in the United States from the island of Cuba; and while the Indian women, with blackened faces, are mourning over the bereavement of their husbands and their sons, and trembling at the idea of their infants being massacred by the dogs of war which the authorities of the state of Florida have, it appears from the last American newspapers, determined to let loose, the republic rejoices at the anticipated extension of its territory, and, as usual, exultingly boasts that it is 'going a-head!'

"In the Old World, war, like every other pestilence, rages here and there for a certain time only; but the gradual extinction of the Indian race has unceasingly been in operation from the first moment of our discovery of America to the present hour; for whether we come in contact with our red brethren as enemies or as friends, they everywhere melt before us like snow before the sun. Indeed, it is difficult to say whether our friendship or our enmity has been most fatal.

"The infectious disorders which, in moments of profound peace, we have unfortunately introduced, have proved infinitely more destructive and merciless than our engines of war. By the small-pox alone it has been computed that half the Indian population of North America has been swept away. There is something particularly affecting in the idea of the inhabitants, even of a wigwam, being suddenly attacked by something from the Old World which, almost on the self-same day, has rendered them all incapable of providing for each other or even for themselves; and it is dreadful to consider in how many instances, by the simultaneous death of the adults, the young and helpless must have been left in the lone wilderness to starve!"

The American poet Whittier has given a beautiful description of the ravages produced by European diseases in an Indian village, supposed to be narrated by the last survivor of the race. As Whittier's poems are unknown in Europe, we shall quote the passage :—

There came unto my father's hut
A man, weak creature of distress ;
The red-man's door is never shut
Against the lone and shelterless ;
And when he knelt before his feet,
My father let the stranger in ;
He gave him of his hunter's meat,—
Alas ! it was a deadly sin !

The stranger's voice was not like ours,
His face at first was deadly pale ;
Anon 'twas like the yellow flowers,
Which tremble in the meadow gale.
And when he laid him down to die,
And murmured of his father-land,
My mother wiped his tearful eye,
My father held his burning hand !

He died at last—the funeral yell
Rang upward from his burial sod ;
And the old Powwah knelt to tell
The tidings of the white-man's God.
The next day came,—my father's brow
Grew heavy with a fearful pain ;
He did not take his hunting-bow—
He never saw the woods again !

He died, even as the white man died—
My mother, she was smitten too—
My sisters vanish'd from my side,
Like diamonds from the sunlit dew.
And then we heard the Powwahs say,
That God had sent his angel forth,
To sweep our ancient tribes away,
And poison and unpeople earth.

And it was so—from day to day
The spirit of the plague went on ;
And those at morning blithe and gay,
Were dying at the set of sun.
They died : our free, bold, hunters died—
The living might not give them graves,
Save, when along the water-side,
They gave them to the hurrying waves.
The carrion-crow, the ravenous beast,
Turned loathing from the ghastly dead ;
Well might they shun the funeral feast
By that destroying angel spread !
One after one the red men fell ;
Our gallant war-tribe passed away ;
And I alone am left to tell
The story of its swift decay !

“ Not only whole families,” continues the Reviewer, “ but whole tribes, have been almost extinguished by this single disease, which is supposed to have proved fatal to at least seven millions of Indians. The Pawnee nation have been reduced by it from 25,000 to 10,000. When Mr. Catlin lately visited the Mandan tribe, it consisted of 2000 people, particularly distinguished by their handsome appearance, and by their high character for courage and probity. They received him with affectionate kindness, and not only admitted him to all their most secret mysteries, but installed him among the learned of their tribe, and afforded him every possible assistance. He had scarcely left them when two of the fur traders unintentionally infected them with the small-pox, which *caused the death of the whole tribe!* Not an individual has survived ; and had not Mr. Catlin felt deep and honourable interest in their fate, it is more than probable it never would have reached the coast of the Atlantic, or been recorded in history.

And thus, by a single calamity, has been swept away a whole nation, respecting whom it was proverbial among the traders, '*that never had the Mandans been known to kill a white man!*' "

But disease, however infectious, has not been so destructive in its influence as the introduction of ardent spirits, which has been sanctioned and encouraged by the American government, and defended by some public writers who affect to be greatly shocked at the British smuggling of opium into China. From the moment that the Indian tastes "the infernal fire-water," he is a ruined man. Even in our own country, with all the moral restraints resulting from a high state of civilization, a habitual drunkard is universally deemed irreclaimable. But the uneducated savage, who has never been trained to check any impulse or control any passion, yields to the temptation at once; his strength decays, his health declines, his intellect suffers, his moral powers are overthrown,—and the being, thus degraded, is brought before us, and we are gravely asked, does such a creature possess capacities for civilization? Could men of this race have devised and erected structures which we, with all the means and appliances of modern art, can scarcely surpass?

Before we answer such a question—before we affirm that capacity for improvement is denied to any race of created men, we demand that the aborigines should be presented to us such as they were found by William Penn and his associates, not such as they have been made by the six or eight hundred traders scattered over the prairies; many, or rather most of whom have fled as outlaws from the world for the most horrible crimes,

and who are daily employed in deluging the poor Indians with whiskey, in order to obtain their peltries for an inadequate consideration. An extensive and well-devised system has been framed for the demoralization, the degradation, and the final extermination of the aborigines of North America, and those who are ruthlessly carrying on the operation, tell us that because a race has declined it can never be improved. But the very fact of the Indians having become degraded is a clear proof that their intellect is not stationary. The fact that they have received corruption, is evidence that they are susceptible of amelioration. We have already shewn that it is far more difficult to civilize hunting than agricultural tribes; but we did not say that the case of the hunters was utterly hopeless. As enclosed and cultivated land extends, the sheer pressure of want would naturally drive some of them to attempt tillage; but instead of making the attempt to teach the Indians new means of obtaining subsistence, the Americans adopt the easy expedient of driving them beyond the frontiers, to enjoy temporary rest, until a new race of backwoodsmen shoulder their axes and "go ahead" into this new territory.

Nor is this all; the Quarterly Reviewer describes another process of the injustice of the whites, which may best be given in his own powerful words.

"There is another mode in which the red man is made to fade away before the withering progress of civilization; we allude to the rapid destruction of the game necessary for his subsistence. In proportion as the sword, small-pox, and whiskey, have depopulated the country of the Indians, the settlement of the whites

has gradually and triumphantly advanced; and their demand for skins and furs has proportionally increased. In the splendid regions of the 'far west,' which lie between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, there are living at this moment on the prairies various tribes, who, if left to themselves, would continue for ages to subsist on the buffalo which cover the plains. The skins of these animals, however, have become valuable to the whites, and accordingly, this beautiful verdant country, and these brave and independent people, have been invaded by white traders, who, by paying to them a pint of whiskey for each skin (or 'robe,' as they are termed in America), which sells at New York for ten or twelve dollars, induce them to slaughter these animals in immense numbers, leaving their flesh, the food of the Indian, to rot and putrify on the ground. No admonition or caution can arrest for a moment the propelling power of the whiskey; accordingly, in all directions, these poor thoughtless beings are seen furiously riding under its influence in pursuit of their game, or in other words, in the fatal exchange of food for poison. It has been very attentively calculated by the traders, who manage to collect per annum from 150,000 to 200,000 buffalo skins, that at the rate at which these animals are now disposed of, in ten years they will be all killed off. Whenever that event happens, Mr. Catlin very justly prophesies that 250,000 Indians, now living in a plain of nearly three thousand miles in extent, must die of starvation and become a prey to the wolves, or that they must either attack the powerful neighbouring tribes of the Rocky Mountains, or in utter phrenzy of despair, rush upon the white

population on the forlorn hope of dislodging it. In the two latter alternatives there exists no chance of success, and we have therefore the appalling reflection before us, that these 250,000 Indians must soon be added to the dismal list of those who have already withered and disappeared, leaving their country to bloom and flourish in the possession of the progeny of another world!"

It is not our purpose to enter into any examination of the system pursued towards the Indians by the government of the United States. It will be quite sufficient to give the description of that system, supplied by the Americans themselves. We quote from an article in the *North American Review*, from which we have already made some extracts in the course of this chapter.

"In point of fact, the amount of the whole matter is simply this. We regard the Indians as independent nations, just far enough to subserve our own interests. We are willing to treat with them for their lands, and hold them to their concessions; so far they are independent nations. But when we want more, we take another position; and, as they are not independent nations, and have no standing armies, and cannot enforce their rights and compel us to maintain our own stipulations, we proceed to wrong them, by force or fraud, into other treaties, with similar concessions, to be observed with a similar good faith. We get a few half-breeds on our side, we bribe a few recreant chiefs to make their mark on the parchment, and thus we have another treaty of concession to our avarice, solemnly guaranteed by an independent Indian nation,

with stipulations on our part, sanctioned by pledged national faith ! What trouble we are in at the South ! We are marching our troops down upon the poor Cherokees, and commissioning our veteran generals to force that independent nation to quit the homes of their childhood and the graves of their fathers, for unknown lands far off in the West. And we are doing it by way of carrying into effect a treaty extorted by the most infamous means ; a treaty against which the Cherokee nation rise up almost in a mass, and will probably carry their resistance to bloodshed. But our regard to the faith of treaties is so delicate, that we persist in driving away, at the point of the bayonet, the plundered inheritors of the soil, careless of all the ties we break, all the lives we shorten, all the scenes of woe we cause.”

It must not be forgotten, that religious fanaticism has had no small share in producing the systematic degradation of the Indians. The Spaniards were not alone in refusing the rights of humanity to Pagans ; the Puritans of New England looked upon the Indians of that region as children of the devil, and therefore only fit for carnage or servitude ; while they looked upon themselves as the favoured sons of heaven, destined to inherit a promised land as the Israelites did Canaan. Their whole reasoning is admirably expressed in three resolutions, said to have been adopted by a community in Massachusetts previous to seizing on a fertile Indian territory.

1st, Resolved—That the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof.

2d, Resolved—That the Lord hath given the inheritance thereof unto his saints.

3d, Resolved—That *we* are the saints.

Those who adopted such resolutions, were of course likely to portray the character of the Indian in the darkest shades; but the Friends of Pennsylvania, by pursuing a different policy, were able to give them a different character. They were proved to be capable of being mollified, by acts of good neighbourhood, into the most disinterested of friends, and the most faithful of adherents.

When we are told that the erection of such structures as are found on the Ohio, is utterly inconsistent with the Indian character, *as it now is*, we may at once assent; but this by no means proves that even greater works might be consistent with what the Indian character was in a former age. Look to Baalbec, Palmyra, Carthage, to the whole coast of northern Africa, and compare what is, with what has been.

Behold the fields unknowing of the plough!
Behold the palaces and towers laid low!
See where o'erthrown the massy column lies,
While weeds obscene above the cornice rise.
Here gaping wide, half-ruined walls remain,
There mouldering pillars nodding roots sustain.
The landscape, once in various beauty spread,
With yellow harvests and the flowery mead,
Displays a wild uncultivated face,
Which bushy brakes and brambles vile disgrace.
No human footstep prints th' untrodden green,
No cheerful maid nor villager is seen.
E'en in her cities, famous once and great,
Where thousands crowded in the noisy street,
No sound is heard of human voices now,
But whistling winds through empty dwellings blow;
While passing strangers wonder if they spy
One single melancholy face go by.*

* Rowe's Lucan.

Saddening is this picture of desolation, but far more painful is the moral degradation of those who tenant the ruins of former greatness.* It is no wonder that we are tempted to question their parentage, to deny that the Copts are descended from the people of the Pharaohs, that Syria holds representatives of the polished subjects of Zenobia, and that the noble family of the Barcas has left any posterity in Africa. It was not alone the towers and pinnacles of Carthage that fell before the Roman destroyer; the mind of the nation was hewn down; the intellectual and moral destruction far exceeded the physical ruin. Conquerors have ever been the apostles of barbarism; and when we contemplate the havoc they have made, we are almost tempted to lament that they stopped short of extermination, and sheathed the sword too soon. Marcius sitting among the ruins of Carthage, has been a favourite theme with poets and painters; not because the fallen city was a type of the fallen conqueror, but because of the contrast between the mind unbent, the spirit unbroken, the soul unchanged, and the inert matter for which there was no hope of restoration. It is the dissimilarity, not the resemblance, which gives

* This sentiment is beautifully expressed by Mrs. Hemans, in lines we are unwilling to withhold from the admiration of our readers.

Weep not, sad moralist ! o'er desert plains,
Strew'd with the wrecks of grandeur—mouldering fanes,
Arches of triumph, long with weeds o'ergrown,
And regal cities now the serpent's own :
Earth has more awful ruins—one lost mind,
Whose star is quenched, hath lessons for mankind
Of deeper import than each prostrate dome,
Mingling its ashes with the dust of Rome.

its greatest power to the scene; and we shall probably be pardoned if, to prove this point, we quote the lines of an American authoress, Mrs. Child, on the subject, as they have not before been published in this country.

Pillars are fallen at thy feet,
Fanes quiver in the air,
A prostrate city is thy seat,—
And thou alone art there.

No change comes o'er thy noble brow,
Though ruin is around thee;
Thine eyebeam burns as proudly now,
As when the laurel crowned thee.

It cannot bend thy lofty soul
Though friends and fame depart;
The car of fate may o'er thee roll,
Nor crush thy Roman heart.

And Genius hath electric power,
Which earth can never tame;
Bright suns may scorch, and dark clouds lower,—
Its flash is still the same.

The dreams we loved in early life,
May melt like mist away;
High thoughts may seem, mid passion's strife,
Like Carthage in decay.

And proud hopes in the human heart
May be to ruin hurl'd,
Like mouldering monuments of art
Heaped on a sleeping world.

Yet there is something will not die,
Where life hath once been fair;
Some towering thoughts still rear on high,
Some Roman lingers there!

That a nation may decline in civilization, that it may fall even into the lowest depths of barbarism, is a fact which we have illustrated by many painful examples.

There is then no improbability, that the wandering Indians of the prairies, wretched and degraded as we now find them, are yet legitimately descended from a powerful and civilized nation, which either from foreign invasion, internal decay, or more probably from the united influence of both, has sunk into forgetfulness of former glory, and hopelessness of future redemption.

O mortal, mortal state ! and what art thou ?
E'en in thy glory comes the passing shade,
And makes thee like a vision fade away ;
And then Misfortune takes the moistened sponge,
And clean effaces all the picture out.

CHAPTER XIII.

IDENTITY OF THE REMAINS OF CIVILIZATION IN
NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

MATERIALS for a complete examination of the extinct civilization of the Red men, are very scanty; much must remain undiscovered in the vast regions over which they extended. It is only by slow degrees that all the wonders of nature, and the relics of ancient art become known even in civilized lands. It is not a century since the cave of Fingal, one of the most wonderful natural curiosities in the world, close to our own shores, remained undiscovered by any one competent to describe it :

Then all unknown its columns rose
Where dark and undisturb'd repose
The cormorant had found,
And the shy seal had quiet home,
And welter'd in that wondrous dome,
Where as to shame the temples deck'd
By skill of earthly architect,
Nature herself it seemed would raise
A minster to her Maker's praise.

Every day brings us fresh proof of the high state of civilization to which Britain attained under the Romans, and the barbarism into which the nation sunk in consequence of the Saxon invasion. The remains of the princely palace at Bignor, its beautiful Mosaic pavements, its galleries, its hypocaust, and its baths, have

been brought to light only within the last few years. Herculaneum, Pompeii, Pæstum, have been but recently restored to our knowledge; and travellers in Asia Minor constantly discover majestic ruins of cities whose names are unknown or doubtful. Dr. Wilde has found it to be a work of great difficulty to identify the spot on which Tyre stood,—that city “situate at the entry of the sea, the merchant for many isles, whose borders were in the midst of the waters, and whose builders had perfected her beauty.”* Who could gaze on the barren rock where Nature first triumphed over Art, and where Desolation wrested the victory from Nature, without being tempted to exclaim in the words of Eckhard:

A thousand years have rolled along,
And blasted empires in their pride,
And witnessed scenes of crime and wrong,
Till men by nations died.
A thousand summer suns have shone,
Till earth grew bright beneath their sway,
Since thou, untenanted and lone,
Wert render'd to decay.
The moss-tuft and the ivy-wreath,
For ages clad thy fallen mould,
And gladden'd in the spring's soft breath;
But they grew wan and old.
Now, Desolation hath denied
That even these shall veil thy gloom;
And Nature's mantling beauty died,
In token of thy doom.
Alas, for the far years, when clad
With the bright vesture of thy prime,
Thy proud towers made each wanderer glad,
Who hailed thy sunny clime!

* Ezekiel xxvii. 3.

Alas, for the fond hope and dream,
And all that won thy children's trust,
God cursed,—and none may now redeem,
Pale city of the dust !

If on civilized coasts, in lands travelled by men of science, enterprise, and observation; and on sites where history has named and fixed the natural bounds and landmarks, fresh discoveries are daily made, and wondrous monuments of nature and art rescued from "the cold obstruction" to which they have been consigned for centuries, it is assuredly probable that in the wilds of North America, in the recesses of Mexico, and the mountains of Peru, there are vast antiquarian treasures still unrevealed, which would elucidate what is now dark, and explain what is now intricate. If we add to these considerations, the jealousy of Spain while she possessed these interesting regions, watching them as the degraded guardians of the Harem do the objects of their charge, the more strictly because the capacity of enjoyment is wanting—the complete success with which the Spanish government secluded its natural subjects, both in England and America, from any intercourse that would throw light on the history of nature, or of man;—if we further add, the anarchy that has since prevailed in the revolted colonies of Spain, and which has sealed them against intercourse, not less effectually than the bigoted restrictions imposed upon them by former tyranny;—finally, if we reflect upon the care with which the Indians hide all they can from their conquerors, we may even now consider American antiquities a subject still in its infancy, notwithstanding the investigations of that enterprising and intelligent traveller, Baron Humboldt.

Mr. Bullock, in his description of ancient Mexico, declares that with "Baron Humboldt's circumstantial account of the group of the pyramids of Teotihuacan, eight leagues from Mexico, in his hands he could obtain no information of them in Mexico. Some of the best informed had heard of them, but supposed that Baron Humboldt had been imposed upon. All inquiries on the road were ineffectual, till at the end of the second day's search, he saw them towering above the hills of Napal; and the platforms were distinctly visible at the distance of two miles. On the top of that of the Moon, they found a small temple, which had a door and windows. Within half a mile was the great pyramid of the Sun, scarcely inferior to that near Cairo, and between them several hundreds of small pyramids laid out like regular streets. From the top he enjoyed the fine prospect of the lake, of the city of Mexico, and great part of the magnificent valley."

Little has been done in the exploration of the northern and eastern parts of Asia, subject to the dominion of Russia; but in the southern Siberia, between the Tobol and the Jenesai, and particularly in the steppes in the middle region of the Lena, memoirs have been found of ancient grandeur, magnificence, and culture. Mr. Tooke informs us that in the Museum of St. Petersburg are preserved multitudes of vessels, diadems, military weapons, articles of dress, coins, etc., which have been found in the Tartarian tombs in Siberia, and on the Volga.

"In the Siberian tombs," says Stahlenberg, "and in the deserts which border that country to the south, are found thousands of cast idols of gold, silver, tin, copper,

and brass. I have seen some of the finest gold in the form of mountains, harts, old men, and other figures; all sorts of urns, scimitars, medals of gold and silver, and clothes folded up, such as the corpse is dressed in. Some of the tombs are of earth, and raised as high as houses, and in such number upon the plain, that, at a distance, they appear like a ridge of hills: some are partly of rough-hewn stone, and of freestone, oblong and triangular; others of them are built entirely of stone. Colonel Kanifer told me that the ambassadors of the Chinese Tartars, when passing the city of Jenesai, asked permission to visit the tombs of their ancestors, but were refused; not, improbably, because they would have seen that they were rifled and demolished. About twenty or thirty years ago,* before the Czars of Russia were acquainted with these matters, the governors of the cities Tara, Tomskoi, Crosnoyar, Batsamki, Isetskoe, and others, used to give leave to the inhabitants to go in caravans to ransack the tombs, on condition that of whatsoever they should find of gold, silver, copper, jewels, and other things of value, the governors should have the tenth. These choice antiquities were often broken and shared by weight. They have dug for years, and the treasures are not exhausted."

Two articles found in the Siberian tombs are particularly worthy of notice; these are drinking vessels and urns of black earth and delicately pieced emeralds, for both perfectly similar are found in the ruined monuments of Mexico and Peru. Materials do not exist for establishing the identity of art beyond the reach of controversy, but we think that enough has been quoted to establish a strong probability that the same system

* Nearly a century from the present time.

of civilization once prevailed in these widely separated countries. Although the custom of interring the articles most valued in life with the bodies of the dead appears at some time or other to have prevailed amongst most nations, we nowhere find it carried to such a pitch of extravagance as amongst the tribes that issued from "the great northern line," the Huns, the Tartars, the Mongols, and amongst the aboriginal inhabitants of America. This custom is still observed among the Indians of North America, and is thus powerfully described by Mr. Longfellow in his "Burial of the Minnisink."*

A dark cloak of the roebuck's skin
Covered the warrior, and within
Its heavy folds, the weapons, made
For the hard toils of war, were laid;
The cuirass woven of plaited reeds,
And the broad belt of shells and beads.
Before, a dark-haired virgin train
Chanted the death-dirge of the slain;†
Behind, the long procession came,
Of hoary men and chiefs of fame,
With heavy hearts and eyes of grief,
Leading the war-horse of their chief.
Stripped of his proud and martial dress,
Uncurbed, unreined, and riderless,
With darting eye and nostrils spread,
And heavy and impatient tread,
He came, and oft that eye so proud
Asked for his rider in the crowd.

* The Minnisinks are an almost extinct tribe of Indians

† The dirge is too beautiful to be omitted.

They sung, that by his native bowers
He stood, in the last moon of flowers,
And thirty snows had not yet shed
Their glory on the warrior's head;
But as the summer fruit decays,
So died he in those naked days.

They buried the dark chief; they freed
Beside the grave his battle-steed;
And swift an arrow cleaved its way
To his stern heart; one piercing neigh
Arose,—and on the dead man's plain
The rider grasps his steed again.

Here are manifest traces of the same superstition which Gibbon records in his description of the funeral of Attila. "His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the plain under a silken pavilion, and the chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured evolutions, chanted a funeral song to the memory of a hero, glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world. According to their national custom, the barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader as he deserved, not with the tears of women but with the blood of warriors. The remains of Attila were enclosed within three coffins, of gold, of silver, and of iron, and privately buried in the night; *the spoils of nations were thrown into the grave*; the captives who had opened the ground were inhumanly massacred; and the same Huns who had indulged such excessive grief, feasted with dissolute and intemperate mirth, about the recent sepulchre of their king."

Acosta and Gomara* give a very similar account of the usages at the funerals of the kings of Mexico. "When a king of Mexico died, a lock of his hair was cut off as a relic,—for therein lay the remembrance of his soul,—an emerald was put into his mouth, and

* Purchas v. 878.

his body was wrapt in seventeen costly and curiously wrought mantles. Upon the outer mantle was the device or arms of that idol to which he was most devoted, and in whose temple the body was to be buried. Upon the king's face was a vizor, painted with devilish gestures, and beset with jewels; then they killed the slave whose office it was to light the lamps and make the fire to the gods of the palace. They then carry the body to the temple, with targets, arrows, maces, and ensigns, to throw into the funeral fire. The priests, some of whom are called Papas, and dress in black, receive him with a sorrowful song, and drums and flutes; and the body is cast into the fire, together with jewels, and a dog newly strangled to serve as a guide. Then about two hundred persons are sacrificed by the priest to serve him. The fourth day fifteen slaves, upon the twentieth day five, and on the sixtieth three, are sacrificed for his soul. The ashes and the lock of hair, with another which had been saved from the time of his birth, were put into a chest, painted on the inside with devilish shapes; *on which chest was the image of the king.** The king of Mechnacan observed the like bloody rites; many gentlewomen were appointed to office in the service of the deceased, and while his body was burning were killed with clubs, and buried four and four in a grave: slaves and free maidens were killed to attend the gentlewomen."

Baron Humboldt has shewn the extraordinary similarity between the architecture of the American monuments and the structures found in the ancient country

* A cast or representation of the inmate's countenance is commonly found on the Egyptian mummy-cases.

of the Mongols ; he has also shewn that the religion of Mexico was radically the same as that of Tartary and Thibet ; but his strongest argument is derived from the computation of time, which, as the Rev. Dr. Wiseman justly observes, “affords too marked a coincidence in matters of mere caprice to be purely accidental.”* Time is divided into greater cycles of years, and these again are subdivided into smaller portions, each of which bears a certain name ; and this system, so obviously artificial and capricious, is in use among the Chinese, Japanese, Kalmucks, Mongols, and Mantchews, as well as among the Tolteks, Azteks, and other American nations ; and the character of their respective methods is precisely the same, particularly if those of the Mexican and Japanese be compared. The most incredulous however, must be convinced from a comparison of the zodiac, as existing among the Tibetans, Mongols, and Japanese, with the names given by this American nation to the days of the month.

Hieroglyphics of the Days
of the Mexican Calendar.

Narshatras ; or the
Lunar Houses of the Hindoos.

Atl, eau, water	
Cipactli, monstre marin, sea-monster	Mahara, a sea-monster
Oceloti, tigre, tiger	Tigre, tiger
Tochtli, lievre, hare	
Colmati, serpent, serpent	Serpent, serpent
Acati, canne, cane	Canne, cane
Teepati, couteau, knife	Rasoir, razor
Ollin, chemin du soleil, path of the sun	Foot-tracks of Vishnu, the Hindoo god of the sun
Ozonatli, singe, monkey	Singe, monkey
Quanlitti, oiseau, bird	
Itzeuintli, chien, dog	Queue de chien, dog's tail
Calli, maison, house	Maison, house

* Wiseman's Lectures on the Connexion between Natural and Revealed Religion ; many of the arguments in this chapter have been suggested by those lectures.

It will be seen, that the identical signs are sea-monster, tiger, serpent, monkey, dog, etc., in all which it is plain, there is no natural aptitude that could have suggested their adoption in both continents. This strange coincidence is still further enhanced by the curious fact that several of the Mexican signs, wanting in the Tartar zodiac, are found in the Hindoo Shastras, exactly in corresponding positions. As a matter affording some evidence of the probable course of migration, to which we shall again have occasion to refer, we shall insert a table exhibiting the analogy between the zodiac of the Mexicans, and that of the Mantchew Tartars.

MEXICAN ZODIAC.	ZODIAC OF THE MANTCHEW TARTARS.
Oceloti, tigre, tiger	Pars, tigre, tiger
Tochtli, lievre, hare	Taoular, lievre, hare
Colmati, serpent, serpent	Maghi, serpent, serpent
Ozonatli, singe, monkey	Petchi, singe, monkey
Itzeuintli, chien, dog	Nokai, chien, dog
Quanhitli, oiseau, aigle, bird, eagle.	Tukia, oiseau, poule, bird, hen.

The signs wanting in the Mantchew zodiac, are, as we have seen, supplied by the Hindoos; they are not less arbitrary than those preserved, being a house, a cane, a knife, and foot-prints.* Here, then, we have very positive evidence of an early identity between the aboriginal race of America and the Asiatic family of nations, at least so far as their system of civilization is concerned. We shall conclude the testimony on this point with an extract of a letter from M. Jomard to Baron Humboldt.† “I have recognised in your memoir

* See the comparative plates in “Humboldt’s Views of the Cordilleras,” vol. ii.

† “Humboldt’s Researches,” vol. ii. p. 224.

on the division of time among the Mexican nations compared with those of Asia, some very striking analogies between the Toltec characters and institutions observed on the banks of the Nile. Among these analogies there is one which is worthy of attention. *It is the use of the vague year of three hundred and sixty-five days, composed of equal months, and of five complementary days, equally employed at Thebes and Mexico, a distance of three thousand leagues.* It is true that the Egyptians had no intercalation, while the Mexicans intercalated thirteen days every fifty-two years. Still further, intercalation was proscribed in Egypt, to such a point, that the kings swore on their accession, never to permit it to be employed during their reign. Notwithstanding this difference, we find a very striking agreement in the length of the duration of the solar year. In reality, the intercalation of the Mexicans, being thirteen days on each cycle of fifty-two years, comes to the same thing as that of the Julian calendar, which is one day in every four years, and consequently supposes the duration of the solar year to be three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. Now such was the length of the year amongst the Egyptians, since the Sothic period was at once one thousand four hundred and sixty solar years, and one thousand four hundred and sixty-one vague years; which was in some sort an intercalation of a whole year of three hundred and sixty-five days every one thousand four hundred and sixty years. The property of the Sothic period—that of bringing back the seasons and festivals to the same point of the year, after having made them pass successively through every point—is undoubtedly one of

the reasons which caused the intercalation to be proscribed, no less than the repugnance of the Egyptians for foreign institutions.

“Now it is remarkable that the same solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours, adopted by nations so different, and perhaps still more remote in their state of civilization than in their geographical distance, relates to a real astronomical period, and belongs peculiarly to the Egyptians. This is a point which M. Fourier has ascertained in his researches on the zodiac of Egypt. No one is more capable of deciding this question in an astronomical point of view. He alone can elucidate the valuable discoveries which he has made. I shall here observe, that the Persians who intercalated thirty days every hundred and twenty years; the Chaldeans, who employed the era of Nabonassar; the Romans, who added a day every four years; the Syrians, and almost all the nations who regulate their calendar by the course of the sun, appear to me to have taken from Egypt the notion of a solar year of three hundred days. As to the Mexicans, it would be superfluous to examine how they attained this knowledge. Such a problem would not be soon solved; but the fact of the intercalation of thirteen days every cycle, that is, the use of a year of three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter, is a proof that it was either borrowed from the Egyptians, or that they had a common origin. It is also to be observed, that the year of the Peruvians is not solar, but regulated according to the course of the moon, as among the Jews, the Greeks, the Macedonians, and the Turks. However, the circumstance of eighteen

months of twenty days, instead of twelve months of thirty days, makes a great difference. The Mexicans are the only people who have divided the year in this manner.

“A second analogy which I have remarked between Mexico and Egypt, is, that the number of weeks, or half lunations of thirteen days, comprehended in the Mexican cycle, is the same as that of the years of the Sothic period, that is, one thousand four hundred and sixty-one. You consider such a relation as accidental and fortuitous; but perhaps it might have the same origin as the notion of the length of the year. If in reality, the year was not of the length of three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours, that is $\frac{1461}{4}$ days, the cycle of fifty-two years would not contain $\frac{52 \times 1461}{4}$, or thirteen times 1461 days, which makes thirteen periods of 1461 days.”

Baron Humboldt adds, “A half-civilized people, the Araucans of Chili, have a year (*sipantu*), which exhibits a still greater analogy with the Egyptian year than that of the Azteks. Three hundred and sixty days are divided into twelve months (*ayen*) of equal duration, to which are added at the end of the year, at the winter solstice (*huamathipantu*), five complementary days. The nycthemeræ, like those of the Japanese, are divided into twelve hours (*clagantu*).”

Garcilasso de la Vega, in his History of the Incas, distinctly asserts that the Peruvians calculated by cycles of seven days. “The Peruvians,” he says, “count their months by the moon, they count their

the same, and the same intervalation to be observed, and the same origin of the Egyptian year.

It is also to be observed, that the same solar year, which the Egyptians added six hours, adopted by the Greeks, and still more recently by the Romans, was not in their geographical position, but in their astronomical period.

It is also to be observed, that the Egyptians. This is a point which has been ascertained in his researches into the history of Egypt. No one is more capable of suggesting an astronomical point of view, than one who has made the valuable discoveries which I shall here observe, that the Persians added thirty days every hundred and twenty years, the Chaldeans, who employed the era of Nabonassar, the Romans, who added a day every four years, the Syrians, and almost all the nations of antiquity, regulated their calendar by the course of the sun. It is to be observed, that the Egyptians added three days to the solar year of three hundred days. As to the Greeks, it would be superfluous to examine how they attained this knowledge. Such a problem would not be soon solved; but the fact of the intercalation of thirteen days every cycle, that is, the use of a year of three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter, is a proof that it was either borrowed from the Egyptians, or that they had a common origin. It is also to be observed, that the year of the Peruvians is not solar, but regulated according to the course of the sun, as among the Jews, the Greeks, and the Turks. However, it is to be observed, that the

half months by the increase and decrease of the moon, and compute the weeks by quarters, without having any particular names for the week-days." It does not appear that this circumstance deserves the weight attributed to it by several writers; the cycle of seven days is not an arbitrary, but a natural division of time, it nearly coincides with the phases of the moon, and is approximately the fourth of a lunation. In all ancient nations where the division into weeks was recognised, we find that the observance of the day of new moon was connected with the observance of one day in seven. It was so amongst the Jews, as is manifest from St. Paul's classing them together in his epistle to the Colossians, "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or a new moon, or the Sabbath day." It is obvious that though the phases of the moon change almost every seven days, yet the correspondence is not exact enough to produce, in a lapse of several consecutive months, an agreement between the cycle of seven days and the phases of the moon, and hence nations may easily come to forget the origin of this division of time. It appears that another cycle was partially adopted by the Peruvians, that of nine days, the nearest approximation to a third of a lunation. This circumstance sufficiently shews that the cycle of seven days, or of nine days, is not a circumstance sufficient to establish identity, for both are natural divisions of time, and scarcely less likely to be suggested by the observation of the heavenly bodies than a day, a month, or a year. Baron Humboldt follows Acosta in attributing the cycle of seven days to the number of the planets, but he has left the

connexion between the two unexplained. The Bishop of Ohio seems to think that it arose from a tradition of the seven days of creation; but we can discover no traces of the memory of the demi-urgic week in the cosmogonies of America, and assuredly the change of phase in the moon affords a more simple and probable solution. Even amongst the Hebrews the observance of the new moon, as has been already mentioned, appears closely connected with the observance of the Sabbath.

The identity of the zodiacal signs and the common use of intercalation, are of greater importance than the correspondence in the division of the year, month, and week, which are so strongly marked by nature that there is little room for variation, and on these we rest for establishing a probability that the American system of civilization was to a great extent the same as the Asiatic.

This is further confirmed by the clear traditions we find among the Americans, of man's early history, of the flood, and of the dispersion of the human race, —traditions in which the accounts preserved by the Semitic nations of Asia are strangely blended with the Hindoo legends of successive renovations of the universe. Their paintings record four great cycles: at the end of the first, the human race was destroyed by famine; the second was terminated by a conflagration, from which only two human beings escaped; the third by a series of hurricanes; and the fourth by a general inundation, in which all mankind were destroyed, except Coxcox and Xochiquetzal, a man and woman, who saved themselves in the trunk of an *ahuehete*, or

deciduous cypress. "The Azteks," says Dr. Wiseman, "Mitteks, Flascalteks, and other nations, had innumerable paintings of these latter events. Tezpi, or Coxcox, as the American Noah is called, is seen floating in an ark upon the waters, and with him his wife, children, many animals, and several species of grain. When the waters withdrew, Tezpi sent out a vulture, which being able to feed on the carcasses of the drowned, returned no more. After the experiment had failed with several others, the humming-bird at length came back, bearing a green branch in its little beak. In the same hieroglyphic painting, the dispersion of mankind is thus represented. The first men after the deluge were dumb, and a dove is seen perched on a tree giving to each a tongue, the consequence whereof is, that the families, fifteen in number, disperse in different directions."

The great treasury of Mexican Antiquities, published by the late Lord Kingsborough, at once identifies the Mexican art with that of India and Egypt. We have almost exact copies of the ancient pagodas and cave-temples of Hindoostan; and we have pyramids constructed on the same model as those of Egypt, and apparently designed for the same purpose. We have figures closely enveloped in drapery, so that only the feet below, and the hands on either side, appear, as in Egyptian statues; while the head-dress surrounds the head, and hangs down at each side, pushing forward enormous ears; besides other kneeling figures, where this attire, so characteristic of Egyptian, is still more strongly marked—"so that," as Inca Quirius Visconti has remarked, "they might have been copied from

the portico at Dendera, whose capitals they exactly resemble."

We do not pretend to explain these resemblances, but we think that they are too marked and too striking to be purely accidental. It is curious, that the points of resemblance between the two civilized nations of America, the Mexicans and Peruvians, appear to be less numerous than between either of them and the Asiatic nations; it must, however, be remarked, that this seems to arise not so much from the want of these resemblances as from their not being recorded. All the early writers took the identity of the two races as an established fact. Ulloa says, "if we have seen one American, we have seen all; their colour and make are so nearly alike." Modern American writers content themselves with the same general declaration, so that it would seem as if the paucity of recorded analogies arose not from their scantiness, but from their superabundance. Under these circumstances, the following resemblances must be received as part of a greater number, which most probably will be extended by future investigation. The most perfect identity of physiological development between the crania found in the mounds on the Ohio, and those of the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, was demonstrated by Dr. Warren, of Boston, in a paper read before the Medical Section of the British Association. They all exhibited proofs of having been subjected to artificial pressure in early life. Now this custom of cranial compression, peculiar, so far as we can learn, to these races, affords no slight warrant for our belief in an original identity.*

* "The Aztecs," says Humboldt, "who do not now disfigure the

The extension of tumuli, etc., through western North America and Mexico to Peru, in an almost unbroken chain, induces a belief that the race which constructed them emigrated thither, and their termination in Peru leads to the conclusion that this civilized race went no farther. These architectural remains appear very similar to each other in character and object, and the most marked differences between them seem to arise from the nature of the materials at the command of the several builders.

The traditions of Peru indicate that their country derived its civilization from some northern land in the direction of Mexico; the Mexican paintings, or pictorial history, unequivocally record an emigration from the north, and exhibit the several halting-places of the wandering race before it reached its final settlement.* And to complete this head of evidence, there are traditions among the western tribes of North America, that they acquired possession of their present country by conquest.

We have authentic information that the country between Mexico and Peru was settled by a prominent Mexican tribe on its emigration towards the south. "Copan," says Gulindo,† "was a colony of Toltecas. Its king held dominion over the country extending to heads of their children, represent their principal divinities, as their hieroglyphic manuscripts prove, with a head more flattened than any I have seen among the Caribs." The custom of compressing the crania of infants, according to Garcilasso de la Vega was still practised by some of the Peruvian tribes on the discovery of America by the Spaniards.

* A copy of this remarkable document is prefixed to Mr. Delafield's *Antiquities of America*.

† See *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii.

the eastward from that of the Magas, or Yucatan, and reaching from the Bay of Honduras nearly to the Pacific, containing on an average about ten thousand square miles, now included in the modern states of Honduras, Guatemala, and Salvador, and possessing several populous and thriving towns and villages. The aborigines of this kingdom still use the Charti language, being a mixture of the Toltec dialect with some other still more ancient in those parts."

These considerations appear to establish a very strong probability that there was an identity between the system of civilization existing among the race that erected the mounds, and the civilization found in Mexico and Peru when America was first discovered. A probability has also been established, that this system of civilization was in many important points identical with that of eastern and southern Asia. There are, however, two objections of considerable weight which deserve to be examined, namely, the differences of language, and the differences of religion. The number of different languages spoken by the aborigines of America is almost incredible, and there is very often little or no lexical analogy between those of neighbouring tribes. But it is easy to shew that that multiplication of languages is not peculiar to America, but is everywhere found to be an attribute of the savage state. When families and tribes are insulated, either by accident or design,—when the hand of each is raised against its neighbour, "a jealous diversity, and unintelligible idioms are introduced into the jargons which hedge round the independence of the different hordes.*

* Wiseman's Lectures, vol. i. 128.

This disuniting power is very strongly marked among the tribes of Polynesia. "The Papuans, or Oriental negroes," says Dr. Leyden, "seem to be all divided into very small states, or rather societies, very little connected with each other. Hence their language is broken into a multitude of dialects, which in process of time, by separation, accident, or oral corruption, have nearly lost all resemblance." "Languages in the savage state," says Mr. Crawford, "are great in number, in improved society few. The state of languages on the American continent affords a convincing illustration of this fact; and it is not less satisfactorily explained by that of the Indian islands. The negro races which inhabit the mountains of the Malaya peninsula, in the lowest and most abject state of social existence, though numerically few, are divided into a great many tribes, speaking as many different languages. Among the rude and scattered population of the island of Timor, it is believed that not less than forty languages are spoken. On Ende and Flores, we have also a multiplicity of languages, and among the cannibal population of Borneo, it is believed that many hundreds are spoken." The same fact has been observed among the Australian tribes, as is obvious from an inspection of the vocabularies published in King's Survey. If these causes act thus elsewhere, they must be still more powerful in America, where, as Humboldt has well observed, "the configuration of the soil, the strength of vegetation, the apprehensions of the mountaineers, under the tropics, of exposing themselves to the burning heat of the plains, are obstacles to communication, and contribute to the amazing variety of

American dialects. This variety, it is observed, is more restrained in the savannas and forests of the north, which are easily traversed by hunters, on the banks of great rivers, along the coasts of the ocean, and in every country, where the Incas had established their theocracy by force of arms.”*

Lexical conformity, that is, agreement between words, does not exist; but an examination of the structure pervading all the American languages, has established beyond all doubt, that they all form one individual family, closely knitted together in all its parts by the most essential of ties, grammatical analogy. “This analogy,” says Dr. Wiseman, “is not of a vague, indefinite kind, but complex in the extreme, and affecting the most necessary and elementary parts of grammar; for it consists chiefly in the peculiar methods of modifying conjugationally the meanings and relations of verbs by the insertion of syllables; and this formed the late W. von Humboldt to give the American languages a family name, as forming their conjugations by what he termed *agglutination*.”

Nor is this analogy partial; it extends over both the great divisions of the New World, and gives a family

* “The Basque tongue,” says Dr. Wall, “affords a striking instance of the rapidity with which new dialects are produced, when the process is not checked either by some peculiarity of circumstance, or by the restrictions which alphabetic writing supplies.” Of the multiplied dialects of this language, which are spoken within the narrow limits of the Pyrenean provinces, M. D’Abaddie gives the following description: “La langue Eskuarra compte six principaux dialectes, qui sont le haut-navarsais, le souletin, le bas-navarrais, le labourdin, le guipuzkoan, et le biskaïen ou cantabre. Chacun de ces dialectes se subdivise lui-même, suivant le tribus, avec un incroyable variété d’inflexions et de desinences grammaticales.”

air to languages spoken under the torrid and arctic zones by the wildest and more civilized tribes. "This wonderful uniformity," says Malte Brun, "in the peculiar manner of forming the conjugations of verbs from one extremity of America to the other, favours in a singular manner, the supposition of a primitive people, which formed the common stock of the American indigenous nations." The languages of the New World, therefore, when carefully examined, instead of proving diversity of origin, exhibit on the contrary divergence from a common centre of civilization.

There was, no doubt, a marked difference between the religious systems of the Mexicans and Peruvians: that of the former was gloomy, sanguinary, and based upon fear; that of the latter was cheerful, mild, and founded upon love. But this marked dissimilitude by no means proves that the two systems may not have been derived from the same root. There is just the same difference between the two great sects of India; the worshippers of Vishnu, the Preserver, and of Siva, the Destroyer. Both religions were elementary; that is, they were based on the worship of some object, power, or principle of nature; either physical objects, as the sun, the moon, the earth, etc., or abstractions, as the creating, preserving, and destroying; or, what seems to have been most usual, the object and the principle may have been combined, and the physical phenomena worshipped mainly, or only, as the expressions of a creating or destroying power. From this common starting point, it is very possible to derive the most opposite creeds, according to the prevalence of gratitude or fear in the minds of those by whom the

first elements are wrought into a system. And the system of sacrifice adopted by a nation will at once shew which principle has prevailed in the development of its religion, for sacrifices may be either offerings to testify love, or bribes to avert danger. Wherever there is an organized priesthood, and especially where there is a sacerdotal caste, we find the more gloomy creed and the cruel ritual prevalent; but where circumstances have weakened the sacerdotal power, a tendency to a more cheerful faith and milder observances becomes manifest. The religion of colonies generally exhibits this improvement on the creed and worship of the parent state. The Carthaginians brought the worship of Moloch with them from Palestine, but they never indulged in such sanguinary rites as were used by their ancestors in Canaan. It was among the Grecian colonies of Asia Minor, that the Hellenic religion assumed the poetic form in which it is presented to us by Homer, for in the dramatic poets, and particularly in Æschylus, we find traces of a darker creed, which favoured human sacrifices. In the countries adjacent to Hindústan, which indubitably derived their religion along with the first elements of civilization from India, it is not Brahminism which prevails, but Buddhism, a mixed political and philosophical reform of the ancient Hindú faith.

The difference between the religious systems of Mexico and Peru is not, in fact, greater than that between those of India and Ceylon, or Brahminism and Buddhism. It is a singular coincidence that the Peruvians had one Buddhistic notion prominent in their creed, the successive incarnations of Deity in the

persons of their rulers: there is a perfect similarity between the attributes of the Incas of Peru, and the Lamas of Tibet. It deserves to be added, that in the provinces where the empire of the Incas was not established, human sacrifices were as common as in Mexico.

When we compare two systems of religion, which were originally derived from the same elements, but which became wholly different in the course of their respective developments,—such for instance as the creeds of the Pelasgi and the Hellenes, of the Brahmins and the Buddhists, and most probably of the Mexicans and Peruvians,—we shall find that the system which most closely assimilated the deities to human form was the most favourable to purity of morals and development of intellectual power. In Asia, where the human form was attributed to the gods, it was but a secondary affair; the indispensable means of presenting them to the senses, and nothing more. Hence the greater part of the Asiatic nations never hesitated to depart from the human form, or to disfigure it, in order to strengthen the symbolical representation. The Hindu makes no scruple of giving his gods twenty arms; the Phrygian Diana had as many breasts; the Egyptians gave their deities the heads of birds and beasts. All these disfigurements have a common origin; the human form was but a subordinate object, the chief aim was a more distinct designation of the symbol.

The Greeks gradually dismissed the symbolical representations, and adopted something more human in their stead. The Buddhists and Peruvians followed a similar course; for their incarnations were in principle

the same as the Greek accounts of the gods appearing in definite forms. With fixed forms the gods soon acquired definite characters; they gained life in the conceptions of the people, and were invested with the attributes of moral persons. Heeren has admirably shewn the consequences of this change on the culture and improvement of a country. "The more a nation conceives its gods to be like men, the nearer does it approach them, and the more intimately does it live with them."

To this principle may be ascribed the moral superiority of the Greeks over the Asiatics, the greater mildness of the Peruvians, and the purer systems of ethics contained in the sacred books of the Buddhists. It may, indeed, be said without presumption, that "God manifest in the flesh" was "the desire of all nations,"—a moral want felt by humanity, a craving of the heart, sanctioned by the understanding, which prepared, and still prepares, the way for the general reception of Christianity.*

* This peculiarity of the Christian religion forms the subject of Archbishop Whately's Second Essay on the Peculiarities of Christianity, which I had not read when the passage in the text was written. I gladly avail myself of one paragraph in this admirable essay, to shew that my views are supported by high authority. "The religion of those who are called philosophers, whose speculations respecting the Deity have been most exalted and refined—has always been cold and heartless in its devotions, or rather has been nearly destitute of devotion altogether.

"On the other hand, the great mass of mankind, from the same cause (indistinct perceptions of the Divine nature) have, in all ages and countries, shewn a disposition to address their prayers, not to the Supreme Creator immediately, but to some angel, demi-god, subordinate deity or saint (as is the practice of the Romish church), whom they suppose to approach more to their own nature, to form a

It is not pretended that all the difficulties respecting the early civilization of America have been removed, or that the identity of the Mexican and Peruvian systems of civilization with each other, or with the systems of Asia, has been established beyond the reach of controversy. Doubts must still remain, which enter into the mysteries of nature, and have their solution involved in those secret laws of her constitution which form her links with the moral government of the universe. The farther we trace back our researches, the more rapid shall we find the growth of languages, institutions, and the differences that distinguish races to have been in ancient times. "Truly," says Dr. Wiseman,

sort of connecting link between God and man, and to perform for them the office of Intercessor. Thus, while the one class are altogether wanting in affectionate devotion, the other direct it to an improper object; giving that worship to the creature which is only due to the Creator.

"A preventive for both these faults is provided in that manifestation of God in Jesus Christ, which affords us such a display of the divine attributes, as though very faint and imperfect, is yet the *best* calculated, considering what human nature is, to lead our affections to God. When Christ fed a multitude with five loaves, He made not indeed a greater or more benevolent display of his power, than He does in supporting from day to day, so many millions of men and other animals as the universe contains; but it was an instance far better calculated to make an impression on men's minds of his goodness and parental care. I speak not now of this miracle as an *evidence* of his pretensions: for that purpose would have been answered as well by a miracle of destruction; but of the peculiar *beneficent* character of it. So also in healing the sick, raising the dead, and preaching to the people: though these are not greater acts of power and goodness than the creation of the world and all things in it, yet they are what the minds of men, at least, can more steadily dwell upon, and which therefore are the most likely to affect the heart."

Essays on the Peculiarities, etc. 161—3.

“there is a sap in nations as well as in trees, a vigorous inward power ever tending upwards, drawing its freshest energies from the simplest institutions, and the purest virtues, and the healthiest moral action. While these form the soil wherein a people is as it were deeply rooted, its powers are almost boundless; and as these alter and become exhausted, it likewise will be weakened and decay. Assuredly there was a vigour in the human mind, as compared with ours, gigantic, when the Homeric songs were the poetry of the wandering minstrel, when shepherd-chiefs like Abraham could travel from nation to nation, and even associate with their kings, and when an infant people could imagine and execute monuments like the Egyptian pyramids.”

We have exhibited unquestionable proofs of the early civilization of America, and shewn that the degraded condition in which the Indians were found by Europeans was neither their primary nor their natural state. The fact of their fall is unquestionable, though the precise causes cannot now be determined: no doubt there is an immense distance between the architects and the hunters on the Ohio; but man is essentially free, he is consequently capable of change, and even in his organs most flexible; when therefore he once yields to corrupting influences, there are no limits to his degradation, no bounds to his departure from excellence, until he sinks to the level of the brute creation.

CHAPTER XIV.

SCRIPTURAL ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF
CIVILIZATION.

COMPARATIVE anatomy has shewn, that every part of the animal structure has a definite relation to the habits and character of the bird or beast to which it belongs. A single bone enabled Cuvier to tell the class and order of the creature that owned it, as perfectly as if he had seen the entire skeleton. There is not a groove which any single muscle makes upon the bones of the lion, that does not shew his habits and nature; the smallest joint in the gazelle displays a reference to its timid and fugitive disposition. Organization irrevocably predestines and predetermines the whole life and conduct of the brute creation; it would seem as if a change of structure, however minute, might deprive the dove of her tenderness, or the eagle of his rapacity.

We can find no such determination of character in human organization; anatomy reveals nothing to shew that man was designed to doze away his existence like an indolent Asiatic, or to run down the wild deer by his restless chase, like the American Indian. In fact, his organization shews, that through custom or education he might easily exchange one state for the other. In the pursuits of life, animals exercise no choice; instinct at once leads them to the course of action which

their organization fits them to perform, and as this instinct is physical in its nature, so is it strictly limited in its development to the supply of physical wants and necessities. We speak of the ferocity of the wolf, the cunning of the fox, the tenderness of the dove, the rapacity of the eagle, the prudence of the ant, and the ingenuity of the bee, without attaching praise or blame to the animals for the display of these qualities, and we habitually classify them in our minds not less by the difference of their dispositions than of their powers. The accordance of instinct, and consequently of habits, between creatures of the same race is invariable; and it seems to become more and more definite the lower we descend in the scale of creation, so that the very name of an animal at once suggests to us a notion of its character.

Now the faculty analogous to instinct in man, exhibits itself not in physical manifestations, but in approximation of feelings, similarity of affections, and facility of adaptation; and the perpetuation of these characteristics is secured by the universal gift of speech, an attribute common to the entire race. We have seen that all men display, under circumstances favourable to their development, the power of domestic affections, the disposition to establish and maintain mutual interests, a desire to accumulate and preserve property, and with some trifling deviations, a general agreement on the leading points of the moral code. All analogy then points to the inference that men, however they now differ, were assuredly designed for the same state, and consequently that they must have been originally placed therein.

We have shewn that man is formed in body and endowed in spirit for a social and domestic life, not less manifestly than an oyster is organized to lead a motionless life in the waters, or an eagle to traverse the fields of air. He could therefore no more have been primarily placed in a condition directly opposed to the intent and purpose of his structure and endowments, than the sea-shell could be produced on the top of a mountain, or the giraffe amid the icebergs of the pole. No animal can develop its instincts except under the precise conditions to which its structure is accommodated; and the failure of these conditions leads to degeneracy, sterility, and extinction. This is obvious to every one who has visited a zoological garden, and observed the difficulties that attend the perpetuation of the breeds of animals. Now man is just as obviously unsuited to the solitude of the forest or the desert, as the lion is to his grated den, or the eagle to his chain and cage. All his faculties fit him for society and improvement, and therefore, in a state of society and improvement, he must originally have been placed; and hence it immediately follows, that savage life can be nothing but a degradation, a departure from the original destiny and position of man.

Nature, or rather the Author of nature, has provided for all his creatures the means of exercising those powers with which they are endowed. He has supplied them not only with instinct, but also with the materials by means of which that instinct might be developed. The art of making honey would be useless to the bee, unless flowers existed from which honey may be made. These materials for the exercise of instinct, the animal

is unable to produce for itself, or to find, save within very narrow limits, substitutes for them in their absence. And hence we find that, by a wise provision of nature, several races of animals hybernate; that is, become torpid and insensible during the season when the objects to which their instincts are directed cease from the earth; while others migrate, directed by some mysterious impulse, to a land where those objects are abundantly produced.

Now a certain amount of knowledge, or if we may use such an expression, a stock of civilization, is not less necessary to man for the development of his capacity for improvement, and his other social duties, than flowers are to the bee, or mulberry-leaves to the silkworm. Had he been started on earth perfectly ignorant, ignorant he would for ever have remained. We have seen that no savage nation ever emerged from barbarism by its own unaided exertions; and that the natural tendency of tribes in such a condition is to grow worse instead of better. Civilization could not have been an invention, for the inventive faculty proceeds from something already known; civilization is, in some shape or other, an essential condition of society, and as we have shewn that man was created for society, he must have been enabled to fulfil its conditions.

This account of the origin of man, and of civilization, to which we have attained, by a long course of reasoning, is precisely that which is contained in the oldest book existing—the Book of Genesis. “God created man in his own image,”—gave him “dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that creepeth on the earth,”—

and "he put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it,"—and "he saw that it was not good for man to be alone." Here we have it clearly stated, that man, instead of being placed upon the earth a helpless, untutored savage, was gifted with intelligence,—was taught the nature of the different beings by which he was surrounded,—was instructed in agriculture, one of the most important arts of life,—and was declared to be formed for society. To the truth of this statement, all the traditions of ancient nations, and all the investigations of modern science, bear concurrent testimony; they not only confirm the statement, but they deprive all other theories of the merit even of plausibility. The elements of knowledge were given with the capacity for their improvement, the faculty and the materials for its development were given together.

"This," says Dr. Wiseman, "is assuredly more consoling to humanity than the degrading theories of Virey and Lamarck, and yet there is immixed therewith some slight bitterness of humiliation. For, if it was revolting to think that our noble nature should be nothing more than the perfecting of the ape's maliciousness, yet it is not without some pain and sorrow that we see that nature anywhere sunk and degraded from its original beauty, till men should have been able plausibly to maintain that odious affinity. Yet may this be of sweet use to us in checking the pride which the superiority of our civilization too often excites, by recalling to our minds that we and the lowest savage are but brethren of one family; we are even as they, of a lowly origin, and they, as we, have the sublimest destiny; that, in the words of the divine poet (Dante), we are all equally—

“worms, yet made at last to form
The winged insect, impd with angel plumes,
That to heaven's justice unobstructed soars.”

It is not necessary to enter into any of the countless controversies that have arisen respecting the condition of our first parents in Paradise, the causes of their fall, and the nature of their punishment; but, as some writers have insinuated that a desire for knowledge was an essential part of the transgression of Eve, which seems rather inconsistent with the connexion that has been shewn between the progress of knowledge and the advancement of humanity, it may be necessary to enter upon a brief examination of the subject. All commentators have felt the difficulty that arises from attributing moral results to a purely physical act, and hence many of them have declared that the trees of life and knowledge were sacramental; meaning thereby, if they have any meaning, that their fruits conferred an internal grace and efficacy proportioned to the faith and piety of the recipient. There is no authority for this supposition in the sacred narrative; nor is the theory consistent itself; for the fruit of the tree of life conferred benefit, and that of the tree of knowledge produced evil, without any reference to the frame of mind in which either was used.

Every Biblical student is aware that the verb “to know,” and its derivative “knowledge,” are used in Hebrew to signify physical perception, at least as frequently as mental reflection.* There are fruits which do, in a very remarkable degree, influence our sensations; opium, hemp-seeds, and the juice of the

* See Gen. v. 1.

grape, for instance, produce soporific and exhilarating effects. It is, therefore, very possible that the fruit of the tree of knowledge might have had a stimulating efficacy, and might, therefore, for obvious reasons, have been prohibited. The love of excitement is universal in the human race, people will often run into extreme peril for the mere sake of determining how they would feel under such circumstances; and the description of an untried sensation, even though it should be a painful one, excites an earnest desire for its perception.* In the prohibition of this fruit, physical results are denounced, not as chastisements, but as natural and necessary consequences. "In the day that thou eatest thereof, dying thou shalt die;" intimating that the fruit would produce constitutional effects which would render mortality inevitable. Thus viewed, the prohibition ceases to be a capricious test; it becomes a salutary warning; designed, like every other divine law, for the preservation and prosperity of God's creatures. The obedience required of Adam and Eve was not submission to an arbitrary mandate, but the observance of a condition necessary to their continuance in the paradisiacal state; it was the reasonable adherence to law, not the blind homage to the will of a despot.†

* I have actually heard a young lad lament that he had never been flogged at school, in order that he might know how he would have felt.

† For obvious reasons it is unnecessary to enter at greater length on the investigation of this subject, but Biblical students will do well to consult a little pamphlet, "*De locis difficilioribus Sanctæ Scripturæ Tractatus Tres*," published in Germany, and republished by Mr. Fellowes of Ludgate Hill. Without at all vouching for the correctness of the author's conclusions, it may be safely said, that no explanation of the circumstances connected with the Fall displays greater learning or ingenuity, or does less violence to the literal sense of the sacred narrative.

This view of the case appears to be perfectly consistent with the Sacred Record; it depends on no strained interpretation, and involves no inconsistency. It would be purely an indulgence of idle curiosity to inquire what series of human sensations, roused into action by the forbidden fruit, changed the condition of primeval innocence; it is sufficient to shew, that the knowledge prohibited was physical and sensual, and that the narrative affords no ground whatever for the suspicion that any, even the highest, degree of intellectual improvement was inconsistent with the moral purposes of Providence.

After the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, we find them receiving direct instruction in some of the arts of life. "Unto Adam also, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins and clothed them." This was an important addition to their stock of knowledge; it taught Adam to apply to practical purposes the information which he had acquired, when the animal creation was brought before him in Paradise, and shewed him what beasts might be trained for human use. The domestication of animals resulted from this Divine communication—"Abel was a keeper of sheep." Adam, as we have seen, had previously been taught tillage in Eden, and in this art he instructed his eldest son—"Cain was a tiller of the ground."

We have more than once seen that the elements of civilization are very prolific; "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump;" but that little must be provided from without. Abel does not appear to have gone farther than the domestication of sheep, and perhaps of dogs as guardians of his flocks, but this suggested

the domestication of cattle, which appears to have been an unaided invention in a later period. "Jabal was the father (or founder) of such as dwell in tents, and such as have cattle." The invention of some sort of musical instruments appears to have been combined with this occupation, for Jabal's brother, Jubal, became "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ." The tending of cattle obviously suggests attention to sound, as a means of recovering strayed herds and directing the flocks. Hence the Arcadian Pan was described as the patron of rustic music; as well as of shepherds; and hence, too, the musical instruments of rude pastoral tribes are generally superior to those of agricultural races in the same scale of civilization.

It is remarkable that Tubal-Cain is described as the improver, and not the inventor of metallurgy; "a whetter or instructor of every artificer in copper and iron." Some knowledge of the use of minerals may therefore be reasonably supposed to have formed part of the original stock of information communicated to Adam, but probably only so much as was necessary to prepare the agricultural implements used in the cultivation of Eden; and this appears the more probable, from the fact that Cain "builded a city," or formed a permanent habitation of a kind superior to huts or tents, which could scarcely have been accomplished without the use of metals.

It would seem as if the art of navigation was first taught to Noah: in the slight notices of the arts contained in the antediluvian history, there is no mention made of ships or boats, and the directions given for the construction of the ark, intimate that the patriarch

worked without a model. It may also be remarked, that if ships had been known, a greater number than Noah's family might have escaped from destruction.

This consideration deprives the controversy which at present rages, respecting the universality of the deluge, of much of its importance. If there were no ships previous to the ark, the antediluvian race must have been restricted to a portion of the earth's surface, and the cataclysm by which their ruin was effected need only have extended its agency over Europe and Asia. It appears exceedingly probable that the amount of the antediluvian population was very small; the genealogical table in the fifth chapter of Genesis very plainly indicates that there was a great paucity of births, and we may not irreverently conjecture that the great longevity of the persons there mentioned, was designed as a compensation for the slowness of multiplication. A small amount of births is not by itself evidence of the happiness or misery of any given race: the prosperity of a population depends not on the bringing of a number of human beings into the world, but on their preservation when they are in it. A very comfortable population is rarely prolific; and it is established beyond controversy, that an aristocratic class cannot keep up its own numbers. In the space of about five centuries the Anician family, from being the junior, became the senior of the patrician ranks at Rome. A glance at any extensive peerage would shew that our House of Lords could not maintain its numbers without fresh creations, and the extinction of noble houses reduced the aristocracy of Venice to a mere oligarchy. Instead of the longevity of the patriarchs being an argument

for a rapid increase of population, it has the very opposite tendency ; indeed, late marriages appear to have been the prevalent custom among the antediluvians ; Enoch is the youngest recorded father, and he had lived sixty-five years before he begat Methuselah.

We should also remember that the depravity so early introduced among the antediluvians must necessarily have limited population. "God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." The effects of moral depravity in diminishing the fecundity of the human species, are notorious : the rapid decrease of the population of the South Sea islands within little more than half a century, is a striking instance. As the antediluvians had become monsters of iniquity, it follows from all analogy, that their number was really small, and "that it was in a course of rapid progress towards an extreme reduction, which would have issued in a not very distant extinction."*

It is not our purpose to enter into the controversy respecting the universality of the Deluge ; our object is to shew that this event, whether general or limited, caused no interruption of civilization. The stock of knowledge, as well as the stock of humanity, was preserved in the ark. The domesticated animals were there, ready for the use of man when the waters had subsided ; the art of husbandry was not forgotten, for Noah planted a vineyard soon after his descent from Ararat ; and the knowledge of the arts connected with building survived, since the mere conception of erecting

* Rev. Dr. Pye Smith on Scripture and Geology, p. 310.

such a tower as Babel, argues considerable skill in architecture. The scriptural account of the origin of civilization terminates with the dispersion of the human race in consequence of the confusion at Babel, and therefore the narrative of this event demands our attention.

We are first informed that "the whole earth was of one language, and one speech," or literally, "of one lip and one words." The ordinary interpretation of the Hebrew version, "one language and one speech," seems to have prevailed from the belief that a miracle was necessary to account for the diversity of languages; but, as we have abundantly proved in preceding chapters, a miracle would rather have been necessary to secure their uniformity, since all experience teaches us, that a tendency to multiply languages and dialects is universal in barbarous nations. "One lip and one words," more probably mean an agreement in religion, and the principles of government,—for the natural consequences of such an agreement appear in the narrative; they migrate from the east to the plains of Shinar, and they join in the erection of a city. Persons differing in language have very often combined for such a purpose, but not persons differing in religion and politics.

The emigrants next resolve to build a tower "whose top may reach unto heaven;" a phrase indicative simply of great height; just as the spies sent among the Canaanites by Moses reported, "the cities are great, and walled up to heaven." It has been strangely enough imagined that the builders had some notion of making this tower a means of escape into heaven, in

case of a second flood; as if they, or anybody else, beyond the age of infancy, believed the clouds to be a solid flooring, on which they could step from the top of an edifice elevated to their level. Their own account of the matter perfectly exonerates them from any such absurdity, which, indeed, is nothing more than one of the mischievous follies engrafted on the sacred text by presumptuous ignorance.* The purpose of the architects is stated with great clearness and simplicity, "Let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad on the face of the earth." Here it is intimated that the name of the nation is to be connected with the great citadel, or tower, which was to be the principal edifice in the new city, and hence arises a strong probability that this tower was destined to be a temple for idol-worship. All the great cities of antiquity were dedicated to some peculiar deity, and grew up round a sanctuary: in many cases the deified founder was the

* In a great many schools, notwithstanding modern improvements, children are still taught that heaven is a definite locality above their heads, and hell an equally definite place under their feet. These absurd notions are engrafted on the interpretation of the Bible, and are consequently given and received as articles of faith. When the persons thus instructed acquire even an elementary knowledge of geography and astronomy, they discover the utter folly of such notions; but too often they believe that the absurdity exists in the Bible, and not in the presumption of ignorant teachers. This is one of the most common causes of infidelity among the half-educated, and its influence is far more extensive than is generally imagined. With some sad proofs of the mischief thus produced immediately before our eyes, we may be permitted to question the prudence of making the Bible a school-book, at least until schoolmasters and mistresses are better qualified to explain its peculiar phraseology than they are at present. The error to which reference is made in the text, is derived from the glosses of the Jewish Rabbins, and appears, but in a less absurd form, in Josephus.

object of worship; and even when the Sun, or some other celestial luminary, was chosen as a patron, the name of the ruler was frequently combined with that of the god. All the eastern traditions relating to Babylon declare that Nimrod was its founder, and also that he was the first despot who commanded that he should be regarded as a god.

The sin, then, committed by the builders of Babel was, that they designed to establish a uniform system of idolatry, and that the tower was to be the metropolitan temple of the race. This view of the case at once explains the reason of the Divine interposition: "Let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand each other's speech." This verse might be more literally rendered, "Let us go down and there confound their lip (unity of purpose) that they may not hearken to, or obey each other's words." Any disuniting principle, such as a dispute about the forms of religion, or of government, would lead to a separation of the several families, and this separation would necessarily produce different languages. Thus viewed, the miraculous interposition is freed from the captious objections of the sceptic, for the means are obviously proportioned to the end designed.

We have now reached the point where human civilization, in its collective form, ceases to depend on the direct interposition of Omnipotence, and where the elements bestowed by the Creator are left for their development to human ingenuity and human industry. But here a question may be raised as to the amount of civilization necessary for a start; and it may be asked what spark of civilization being introduced, will kindle

a flame. It is not very easy to solve this problem, but the Book of Genesis suggests some considerations which may lead to an approximate solution. In Paradise, Adam was taught the use of language, the nature of animals, or at least of those species which it was most important for him to know, and the art of tillage. We have no record that the use of fire was communicated to him; but this is rendered probable by the existence of the custom of sacrifices in his family, and by the traditions of almost all ancient nations that fire was derived from heaven. Some moral rules of conduct were given to the first society: Cain refers to retributive punishment for crime, as an established and recognised principle—"it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me." A ritual of worship appears also to have been enjoined, for the sons of Adam made offerings to the Lord. The domestication of sheep and goats was a natural result of the knowledge communicated to Adam in Paradise, and it led subsequently to the taming of other animals. We have already noticed the probable origin of the use of metals.

To this stock we find that the art of ship-building was added at the time of the Deluge, and a further revelation of moral law for the guidance of the new society that was to inherit the earth. As cities existed before, and immediately after, the flood, some elements of political knowledge and the laws of society must have been preserved in Noah's family; indeed, the delicacy shewn by Japhet and Shem, when Ham insulted their father, is evident proof of a considerable advance in social refinement.

It is much more difficult to determine whether any, and what means of recording events existed before the Flood. From the scriptural narrative it may fairly be deduced, that some art of writing was known to the antediluvians. The mark set upon Cain was universally understood; Lamech's poetical address to his wives has internally no recommendation to be preserved by tradition, and there is no discoverable reason why it should have been revived by revelation; finally, the genealogies of the patriarchs are recorded with an accuracy such as tradition could never have possessed. Another argument for such a probability, is thus stated by the Rev. Dr. Pye Smith :* "It is not irrelevant here to remark, that the earlier part of the Book of Genesis consists of several distinct compositions, marked by their differences of style and by express formularies of commencement.† It is entirely consonant with the idea of inspiration, and established by the whole tenor of the scriptural compositions, that the heavenly influence operated in a concurrence with the rational faculties of the inspired men, so that prophets and apostles wrote from their own knowledge and memory the testimony of other persons, and written documents, to which indeed express appeal is often made.‡ From

* On the Relation between Scripture and Geology, p. 207.

† The following appear to be the distinct compositions, yet it must be observed that the evidence is not equally clear in every case. I. Gen. i. 1 to ii. 3. II. ii. 4 to iii. 24. III. chap. iv. IV. v. 1 to vi. 8. V. vi. 9 to ix. 29. VI. chap. x. VII. xi. 1—9. VIII. xi. 10 to 26. IX. xi. 27; and all that follows may be regarded as separate monuments of the house of Abraham. Chap. xxxvi. a separate document, inserted in the most suitable place.—*Smith*.

‡ We have these instances in the Old Testament: Numb. xxi. 14. Josh. x. 13. 2 Sam. i. 18. 1 Kings xi. 41. 1 Chron. ix. 1; xxix.

the evidence of language and of matter, we have no slight reason for supposing that Moses compiled the chief parts of the Book of Genesis, by arranging and connecting ancient memorials under the Divine direction, and probably during the middle part of his life, which he spent in the retirements of Arabia. Thus, though it is impossible to affirm with confidence such a position, yet it is far from improbable that we have in this most ancient writing in the world—the family archives of Amram and his ancestors, comprising the history of Joseph, probably written in great part by himself,—documents from the hands of Jacob, Abraham, Shem, Noah,—and possibly, ascending higher still, authentic memorials from Enoch, Seth, and Adam.”

Looking upon the Book of Genesis as a collection of documents, and not as a single document, it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion, that some of these records existed before the Flood, and were preserved in the ark. The Rev. Dr. Wall has shewn, if not the complete impossibility, at least the great improbability of alphabets being a human invention; and the universal tradition of ancient nations ascribes the invention to the gods. The poetical address of Lamech—for in the original Hebrew it has a decided poetic form—bears all the signs of having been recorded by alphabetic means; for it differs essentially from all the specimens of known ideographic poetry, as will be at once obvious if it be compared with translations from the Chinese.* There

29. 2 Chron. ix. 29, xii. 15, xx. 34. In the New Testament many of the anecdotal portions in the three first Gospels, and see Luke i. 1, 2.—*Smith*.

* See an admirable series of papers on Chinese poetry by Mr. Davis, in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

appears, therefore, a strong probability that, with the stock of information given to Adam, the means of recording and preserving that information were also communicated.

Dr. Wall has shewn, that the common theory which deduces alphabetic from hieroglyphic writing is destitute of any plausible foundation. There is nothing in the latter which would suggest the former; but on the contrary, "the ideagraphic use of signs, instead of leading towards the phonetic one, has actually the very opposite tendency, and draws off the mind from the practice adopted in the alphabetic reading, of using the elementary sounds without any signification, and combining these to form significant words."* The patriarchal records of Abraham and his family, are more full, and enter into more minute details than any transcript from pure ideagraphic writing with which we are acquainted; and assuredly they could not have been thus recorded in such a hieroglyphic system as that described by Clemens Alexandrinus, and Horus Apollo. Persons acquainted with alphabetic writing, are often led to suppose that ideagraphic would form a superior system. Bishop Wilkins was not alone in his attempts to form a universal character, which, like the Chinese, could be read with equal facility by nations speaking different languages.† Here is the

* See Dr. Wall on the Origin of Alphabets, vol. i. p. 30. It may be remarked that the great difficulty in teaching a child the alphabet, is the want of significance in the elementary sounds, and hence pictures are called to the aid of memory—A stands for apple, B for bull, etc.

† The author is acquainted with several such projectors; indeed, he may include himself in the number, for he bestowed the labour of some years on the hopeless attempt.

direct reverse of the modern theory, for here the imperfection of alphabetic writing—the connexion between representation and sound—suggested the expediency of an ideagraphic system, where the representation should have reference solely to the sense independent of the sound.

The differences by which the distinction between the several records is shewn, seem very clearly to prove that the several parts of Genesis were originally alphabetical. Had Moses translated them from hieroglyphs, or collected them from independent traditions, there would be a uniformity of style, which unquestionably is not to be found in the Hebrew text, and there would be an absence of particles and connecting links, such as is found in the Book of Job, which bears every mark of being a transcript from picture writing.

It is not probable that the elements of civilization enumerated were the only aids divinely given to man when he was allowed by his Creator to become a legislator for himself. There are several others, particularly those connected with the domestic and social relations, for whose divine origin, at least, plausible conjectures could be assigned. But it is sufficient to shew that some stock of social knowledge was given to the progenitors of the human race by Omniscience, in order that they might enter on that career of life for which they were obviously destined by their physical constitution and moral nature. The particular elements mentioned in the Sacred Record, are precisely those which we have shewn could not have been invented by men for themselves, and they are also those which the concurrent testimony of ancient nations ascribes to the

interposition of Divine Providence. Thus, the scriptural account of the origin of civilization is confirmed by the internal evidence derived from the different phases of barbarism and civilization, and by the external evidence of the earliest traditions in every part of the world.

The controversy respecting the extent of the Deluge does not in the slightest degree interfere with the course of this argument; but some of the circumstances respecting the dispersion at Babel, which have been lightly passed over by commentators, seem to merit a brief examination. So far as the geography of the antediluvian race can be ascertained, it appears that the principal seat of mankind, before the Flood, was the central plain of Asia, part of which is even now below the level of the sea. After the subsidence of the Deluge, mankind occupied some part of the great mountain chain which extends from the Bay of Bengal to the shores of the Euxine. There are no certain means of determining whether the peak on which the ark rested, was in the Himmalaya, the Paropamisan chain, the American mountains, or the Caucasus. The traditions of Asia point invariably to this mountain-system as the cradle of the different races that have founded the oldest empires in that quarter of the globe, and most of them fix the central forms in Upper Thibet. In this they are partly supported by the Sacred Records, which declare that the sons of Noah journeyed *from* the East when they went to found Babel. In the present state of the science of Ethnography, there are, as yet, but few principles which can be regarded as decisively established; but among those are two that are of great

importance to the subject under consideration. In tracing the families of languages, not by their lexical conformity, but by their grammatical analogy, it will be found, that the course of the language has been primarily directed by a system of mountains, and subsequently by the flow of rivers. This is remarkably the case with the class of languages commonly called the Indo-European family, extending from the Indian seas to the Atlantic ocean. Now the course of this family has obviously been directed by the great mountain-chain of Asia, and subsequently by the course of the mountainous ranges in Northern Turkey and Southern Germany. The only apparent break was in the Caucasus, and even there the links wanting have been amply supplied. So late as 1812, Malte Brun described the languages of the Caucasian region, particularly the Georgian and Armenian, as "forming there a family or group apart." But Klaproth, in his journey to the Caucasus, has proved that the language of one great tribe, the Ossetes, or Alans, indisputably belongs to the Indo-European family, and that the Armenian language, upon lexical and grammatical examination, was clearly a member of the same group.

These observations tend to shew that the first extension of the postdiluvian race was directed over and along a range of heights, for the Deluge must have subsided long before the lower plains could have afforded an opportunity for the march of nations. It is indeed obvious, that the process of dispersion must have commenced before Babel was founded, for its builders could not have anticipated the danger—"lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole

earth"—if the symptoms of such an approaching consummation had not already appeared.

Taking the extremes of this family of languages, the Celtic and the Sanscrit, and carefully observing the lexical conformities between them, it does not seem impossible to approximate to the state in which the arts of life were when these dialects were one or nearly one. The chief lexical resemblance is between the numerals and elementary verbal roots; and the numerals alone are sufficient to prove that when the separation between Celtic and Sanscrit took place, their common parent possessed a greater stock of civilization than is to be found among many of the African and Polynesian tribes, who cannot count beyond five or six.

An important element of civilization was developed by the dispersion at Babel, which must long have continued imperfect, had the builders been able to effect their original design; we mean commerce, and the interchange of commodities. The mutual exchange of articles of use and luxury between men in every grade of the scale of humanity is one of the most conclusive proofs of what may be called the sociability of the human species. Man is the only animal that works for himself at the same time that he is working for others; he alone produces articles which others want, in order to obtain articles which he wants himself. Bees and beavers, indeed, work in common, and thus form a species of association; but their association is that of a family, where production and consumption are equally conjoined: man alone exchanges products;* and this

* "Man," says Archbishop Whately, "might be defined as an animal that makes exchanges; no other, even of those animals which

faculty of exchanging as well as producing, is an essential characteristic of his race.

The project of the builders of Babel to prevent dispersion, to make one name for the whole human race, and to provide a common centre from which all directions should emanate, appears not dissimilar from the theories of some Oriental despots, who claim to be the only landowners and the only merchants in their dominions. They wanted to found a society on an anti-social principle; a principle involving a restriction on the labourer of going to the place where his labour would be most profitable and productive. For this evil, the dispersion at once provided a remedy; and thus the last recorded act of Divine interference in the general government of the whole human race conferred a new element of civilization, and that the one most extensive in its operations on humanity.

We have now examined the scriptural account of the origin of civilization, and have endeavoured to explain some of the details which have been most usually regarded as the difficulties of the narrative. But whatever opinion may be formed of these details, we claim for the general statement the authority of a full demonstration. The scriptural account of civilization narrates not what *may* have been, but what *must* have been. The argument is thus summed up by Archbishop Whately:—

“According to the present course of nature, the first introducer of civilization among savages is, and must

make the nearest approach to rationality, having to all appearance the least notion of bartering, or in any way exchanging one thing for another.”—*Political Economy*, Lecture i.

be, man, in a more improved state: in the beginning, therefore, of the human race, this, since there was no *man* to effect it, must have been the work of *another being*. There must have been, in short, a *revelation* made to the first, or to some subsequent generation of our species. And this *miracle* (for such it is, as being an impossibility according to the present course of nature) is attested, *independently* of the authority of Scripture, and consequently *in confirmation* of the Scripture accounts, by the fact, that civilized man exists at the present day.

“Taking this view of the subject, we have no need to dwell on the utility—the importance—the antecedent probability—of a revelation; it is established as a part, of which a monument is existing before our eyes. Divine instruction is proved to be necessary, not merely for an end which *we think desirable*, or which *we think agreeable* to Divine wisdom and goodness, but for an end which *we know has been attained*. That man could not have *made* himself, is appealed to as a proof of the agency of a *Divine Creator*; and that mankind could not in the first instance have civilized themselves, is a proof exactly of the same kind and of equal strength, of the agency of a *Divine Instructor*.”*

It is not necessary to add anything to this reasoning, but we may be permitted to remark, that this line of evidence shews the importance of investigating human transactions when we are competent to the task, without an immediate reference to the authority of Scripture, as a sufficient answer to all inquiries. That wondrous

* Whately's Political Economy, Lecture v. The reader is earnestly recommended to study attentively the entire Lecture.

library, collected in a single volume, which we call the Bible,* imparts to man only that knowledge which he could not otherwise have attained. It is not the history of nature, of civilization, or of man, but of revelation; and consequently it does not supersede the necessity of shewing, from the records of nature, of civilization, and of man, that a revelation was necessary, and that it was bestowed.

Although few persons cling to Christianity, to its sublime doctrines and its consoling promises, solely in consequence of logical demonstration—though its motives and evidences may have become incorporated with our holiest affections, elements of our happiness, and an essential part of our consciousness—yet the religion of the feelings requires to be both alimented and corrected by the inquiries of reason. Great as our love for the spiritual Jerusalem may be, we are not to sit idly within its walls, in ignorant and indolent reliance on what its guardians are pleased to tell us from time to time; on the contrary, we must “walk about Zion, and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof; we must mark well her bulwarks and consider her palaces, that we may tell to generations following, this God is our God for ever and ever.”

* Much evil arises from the perverse habit of speaking and thinking of the Bible as a single and uniform book. It has enabled infidels to evade the force of the arguments derived from the concatenation of the events in the moral government of Providence, and from the fulfilment of prophecy. They ask, “How can you prove the Bible by the Bible?” If the several books were habitually used as independent records, which they manifestly are, the unity of the system which they reveal would be more striking, and would serve more to confirm the believer, rescue the waverer, and silence the caviller.

CHAPTER XV.

ON THE STATE OF CIVILIZATION DESCRIBED IN THE
BOOK OF JOB.

AMONG the various controversies to which the Book of Job has given rise, one fact has been universally conceded, namely, that it is an independent record, that it has no connexion with the Hebrew history or code of laws, and that it presents a system of religion differing in all its visible forms from that established by Moses. Thus viewed, the book is a valuable record of a form of civilization such as is nowhere else described; and if any weight be given to the preponderance of authorities, we may with the majority of the commentators ascribe this form to a period anterior to the Mosaic legislation. In the preceding chapter we have seen that the Scriptures, or rather the records in the Book of Genesis, enable us to frame some estimate of the amount of civilization bestowed upon the human race when the world was opened for its use; a test of the accuracy of this estimate is in some degree provided, when we find that such an amount was actually possessed by the earliest patriarchal race of which we have a distinct and detailed account.

The question whether Job was a historical personage or an imaginary character, does not necessarily enter into the consideration of the book as a portraiture of manners, but we may be permitted to hazard a conjec-

ture that a rabbinical error, similar to that which has founded so many legendary fictions on the sixth chapter of Genesis, has been the principal source of all the difficulties against admitting Job's existence. It is now universally conceded that "the sons of God" who took wives from "the daughters of men," were the pious descendants of Seth who intermarried with the offspring of Cain. If the same principle of interpretation be applied to the historical introduction in the Book of Job, the rabbinical gloss that the sons of God mentioned in the sixth verse of the first chapter were angels, and the Satan or accuser, the devil, will appear a very unnecessary difficulty. The simple meaning would be, that when the pious men of Idumea assembled to worship Jehovah, the envious spirit of one or more was excited by the prosperity of Job, and the dialogue between the Satan, that is, the accuser or malignant person, would appear to be nothing more than an ordinary oriental mode of describing the struggles between the suggestions of envy and the dictates of conscience. This theory is propounded with all possible humility, but it may be said in its favour that it does no violence to the literal meaning of the text, particularly if reference be made to the original Hebrew—that it gives a simple and natural explanation of an acknowledged difficulty—and that it is in strict accordance with the principles of interpretation applied to similar passages in the sacred volume. That the Book of Job alludes in many places to the ministration of angels has appeared doubtful to several commentators, and an examination of the passages in which they seem to be mentioned, would shew that human messengers,

prophets or priests, may be intimated rather than spiritual agencies ; just as the angels of the churches mentioned in the Apocalypse unquestionably designate human governors.

The religious knowledge possessed in the age of Job was founded on the unity of Deity, both in the creation and government of the universe ; but that this was not a natural theology,—a doctrine discovered by unassisted reason,—is proved by the reference of Job himself to a revelation, when he declares (chap. vi. 10), “ I have not neglected the words of the Holy One ;” and again (chap. xxiii. 12), “ I do not neglect the principles of his lips : I have treasured up his words in my bosom.” This religion was embodied in formal acts of worship : Job offered expiatory sacrifices for himself and his family, not in the character of a priest, but as patriarch and head of a tribe. We find from the Book of Genesis that sacrifices began to be offered immediately after the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise ; and as there cannot be found any reasonable ground for the suggestion of sacrifice to an uninstructed mind, the character of Job’s religion, both in doctrine and form, is that of a theology derived from a primitive revelation, and not evolved from barbarism or paganism by any mental process.

That the knowledge of the Divine unity was derived by Job from a revelation to himself, or from a former revelation transmitted to him by writing or tradition, appears further proved by his reference to the corruptions of religion which were gradually increasing in his time. He describes Sabaism, or the worship of the celestial luminaries, as an error to which he might like

others have been led by his natural propensities, and from which he was protected only by the firmness of his belief in what had been revealed. This is a remarkable confirmation of his having obtained his own knowledge of religion from some external source, for he mentions the superstitious practices connected with Sabaism as customs with which he had been tempted to comply.

If I have looked with a superstitious eye,
At the sun when he shone in his strength,
Or the moon when she walked in her brightness,
And my heart hath been secretly enticed,
And I have worshipped by carrying my hand to my mouth,
I should have been chargeable with a great transgression,
For I should have denied the Supreme God.*

The religion of Job, the first great element in the patriarchal system of civilization, is thus clearly shewn to possess a derivative character, and the only form of religion which we find to have been self-evolved, was a corruption. It is not to be expected that the ideas of morality formed by the patriarch could be so clearly traced to their source, but there are still proofs of their derivative character in their disproportion to the state of physical knowledge represented in the book. It was not until a very late period in the history of the Grecian philosophy, that moralists discovered the necessity of imposing a restraint on the inward sentiment. Now, we find that Job had anticipated this great principle, for he disclaims not the overt act, but the impure desire which might have prompted to its commission.

* The quotations throughout the chapter are taken from Wemyss's admirable translation, and the author has made extensive use of that gentleman's researches and illustrations.

I made a covenant with *mine eyes*
That I would not *gaze* upon a *virgin*,
For what portion should I then have in God,
Or what inheritance from the Almighty on high?

In all the civilized nations of antiquity, and in some which claim to be civilized in modern times, the rights of slaves are ostentatiously disregarded; their persons and properties are at the disposal of their masters. We have shewn in a former chapter, that the worst forms of slavery are to be found in pastoral and nomade races, yet we find Job expressly recognising the rights of his dependents, and asserting their claims to justice with a spirit of equity not to be found in any of the Pagan philosophers, or in some Christian legislators.

If I denied justice to my male slave,
Or to my female slave when they disputed with me,
What then should I do when God maketh inquest?
When he inquires what answer should I give?
Did not He who formed me form them?
Were we not fashioned alike in the womb?

Such morality is clearly beyond the general state of knowledge at the period when Job lived; we find nothing like it in any of the pastoral races existing in the East, though there are many of these whose civilization, estimated by the advance in the arts and sciences, would appear to be greater than that which was possessed by the Idumeans in the days of the patriarch. This superior purity of the ethical code, so far in advance of the progress made in the other branches of human intelligence, is a strong presumptive evidence that it was derived from a source external to the state of society.

We find also that the friends of Job refer to moral

maxims, and principles derived from sages of old, and assert the obligation of the rules which experience had proved to be efficacious. Thus Bildad:

Examine, I pray thee, former generations,
Inform thyself of the wisdom of their ancestors:
(For we are but of yesterday and have no experience;
Our days on the earth are but a shadow).
Shall they not teach thee and instruct thee?

Among the primitive elements of knowledge traced in the former chapter, we noticed the nature and habits of animals which was communicated to Adam before his expulsion from Paradise. The amount of natural history possessed by Job, is greater than he was likely to have obtained from his personal experience, since he not only mentions, but describes animals which were not natives of Idumea, such as the crocodile and the hippopotamus. It is not likely, indeed, that his knowledge of these was derived from tradition, he more probably obtained his information from the commercial travellers who traversed Idumea on their way to Egypt; but it is remarkable, that no animals beyond those he mentions, have been domesticated and rendered useful to man since his day. The shepherd's dog is found to have been used at this early period, and the horses of Arabia are shewn to have been already subjected to the dominion of man. At the same time, the animals which could not be tamed or rendered serviceable, are specified with as much accuracy as could be evinced at the present day.

Though the descriptions of the animals are not technical, they are far from being deficient in scientific accuracy; the author has, with extraordinary felicity,

seized the leading characters of each, and the peculiarities by which it is distinguished from its fellow brutes; in a few words, the amount of instinct it possesses, and the application of that instinct to its habits and modes of life, are brought before us; experience must therefore have been miraculously aided then, or marvellously neglected since, for the accumulated observation of subsequent ages has not added so much to our knowledge of the animals described as would equal the amount possessed by Job.

The Scriptures mention the use of metals and musical instruments, as additions made to the stock of human knowledge; we have already noticed Job's acquaintance with mining operations and refining processes, and need not here repeat our estimate of the amount of his skill in metallurgy, but we may direct attention to the fact, that such an amount possessed at so early an age is strongly confirmatory of the antiquity assigned to the invention in the Book of Genesis.

Mention is made of bread, cheese, butter, oil, and other manufactured forms of agricultural produce. Wine was preserved in leather-bottles, or skins, as it is still in most parts of the East; and it is curious to find Job referring to the fermentation of new wine, in nearly the same words used by Jesus Christ after the lapse of several centuries.

I am overcharged with matter;
My mind within me impels me—
My feelings are like new wine closed up;
As vessels of new wine they are bursting.

There is reason to believe that men had become accustomed to fixed habitations in Idumea, as we should

he led to conclude from the account given of the building of Babel. The mention of cities, indeed, is not decisive, for the Hebrew word so rendered may be applied to assemblages of tents or wagons. But Zophar, in his third address to Job, draws a very manifest distinction between temporary habitations and permanent structures :

He had built his house like a moth-worm,
Like a booth which the garden-watchman constructs.

The various artifices used in hunting, and the instruments employed in war, to which Job incidentally alludes, though very interesting to Biblical students, do not come within the scope of our reasoning, because there are no similar references in the early part of Genesis. The art of clothing is expressly mentioned among the communications made to Adam, but in his case it was confined to preparing articles of dress from the skins of beasts ; in Job's time textile fabrics were known, for he says—

My days are slighter than the weaver's yarn ;
They are finished like the breaking of a thread.

The first mention of the balance and scales occurs in the history of Abraham, but it is there introduced as an instrument familiarly known, an invention so long in use that no reference is made to its origin. Job speaks of it in terms of similar familiarity :—

Would to God my grief were weighed in a balance,
And my calamity laid in one of the scales !
It would be found heavier than the sands of the sea,
Therefore my complaints are vehement.

We have also an allusion to the practice of sealing

with a signet-ring, to which there appears no parallel in the Book of Genesis previous to the history of Joseph :

At present thou numberest up my devices,
Not one of my inadvertencies escapes thee.
My offences are sealed up in a bag ;
Yea, thou tiest together mine iniquities.

No definite account of institutions, and of social or domestic habits, is found in the Book of Genesis previous to the patriarchal record relating to Abraham and his family. Many points of similarity could be found between the habits of Abraham and Job, as might reasonably be expected, since both were emírs or chiefs of pastoral tribes. It will, however, be sufficient to notice one or two of the most prominent resemblances, particularly such as best tend to illustrate the state of civilization in the patriarchal age. Great attention was paid to the wisdom and years of Abraham, by the kings and princes among whom he sojourned ; the reverential simplicity of the homage paid to knowledge and experience is, indeed, one of the most delightful traits in the patriarchal history. The reply of the children of Heth to Abraham, when he wished to purchase a burial-ground from them, is an interesting proof of the great respect which he "a stranger and sojourner with them" had acquired, solely by the influence of his personal character. Job could boast of similar marks of respectful homage :—

To me men gave ear and attended,
They were silent at my admonition.
After I had spoken they replied not,
For my reasons dropped on them as dew.
They waited for me as for a spring-shower ;
They opened wide their mouths as for the harvest-rain.

The transaction between Abraham and the children of Heth brings before us another very interesting peculiarity of the earlier patriarchal times, the influence of public opinion in enforcing obedience to the rules of morality. Abraham, in the absence of courts of record and registry-offices, made his purchase in the presence of the general assembly of the people, and thus the multitude became witnesses of the bargain, and judges of its equity. It like manner Job dwells upon the influence of public opinion manifested by a public assembly of the people, as an efficacious sanction for rectitude of conduct:—

If human-like I concealed my sin,
And hid my transgression in my bosom,
Let me be confounded before the multitude;
Let me be covered with public contempt;
Let me be dumb, nor dare to go abroad.

Few circumstances connected with patriarchal life have a more touching effect on the mind, than the hospitality accorded to the wearied traveller and way-worn stranger. So sacred was the obligation of extending such assistance felt to be, that the host looked upon himself as the obliged party, and supplicated guests to give him their company as an honour and a boon. Thus, when the vision appeared to Abraham in the plains of Mamre, “he lifted up his eyes and looked, and lo, three men stood by him; and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent-door, and bowed himself toward the ground,” and said, “My lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant; let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest

yourselves under the tree: and I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts; after that, ye shall pass on; for therefore are ye come to your servant." He then directs Sarah to prepare the bread, while he goes in person to choose the best calf from the herd, and to prepare other provisions for his guests. In the same way, when two angels visited Sodom, Abraham's nephew, Lot, urgently entreated them, as a favour, to become his guests: "Behold now, my lords, turn in, I pray, your servant's house, and tarry all night, and wash your feet, and ye shall rise up early and go on your ways." When they refused, "he pressed them greatly," as if his house would be honoured by the presence of the strangers. Job lays claim to the exercise of the hospitable virtues in their widest extent:—

If my domestics were not wont to say,
 "Who is there that hath not been filled with his dainties?"
 The stranger lodged not in the street,
 My door was open to every comer.

From the history of Abraham and Esau, it seems evident that polygamy was not so common in the earlier as it was in the later patriarchal ages, and that the marriage union was a connexion on terms of equality, which by degrees changed into the degradation of the weaker sex. Both Sarah and Rebecca appear to have been more influential persons in the households of their husbands, than the wives of Jacob. Job's wife is also represented as the companion, and not the slave of her husband. In our version, her conduct appears harsh and revolting, because the most important word in her address to the patriarch has been rendered into the very opposite meaning of what was intended. She

is made to say, "*Curse* God and die." But the Hebrew word (*berek*) most usually, if not invariably, signifies *bless*; and any one who looks at the passage, unprejudiced by the translation, will see that she obviously alludes to the previous declaration of the patriarch:—

Naked I came from my mother's womb,
And naked I shall return to the earth:
Jehovah gave; Jehovah hath taken away;
Blessed be the name of Jehovah!

This was Job's exclamation when property and family were reft away; but a second course of misery had now fallen upon him, he was smitten with loathsome disease, which covered him externally with ulcers, and racked all his bones with pain; his wife, therefore, exhorts him to reiterate his former words of resignation, to *bless* God and die. Mr. Wemyss adds, that "she may have deemed his sufferings to have arisen from some trespass or iniquity which required a penitential confession, and therefore she may have uttered the words in the sense in which Joshua advises Achan (Joshua vii. 19), "*Bless* God, *i. e.* Give glory to God, by confessing thy sins, hoping also that such confession might avert the divine wrath, and procure to her husband a mitigation of his sufferings."

That this is the correct view of her conduct appears evident from the terms of Job's reply: "Thou speakest like a foolish woman; what, shall we then receive good from the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil also?" There is, indeed, some severity in the reproof, but it is not such as the act of blasphemous impiety, imputed to her in the ordinary version, would have required. He seems to assert that she had misunder-

stood the nature of his case, as his friends did subsequently, by regarding it as a punishment for some transgression which required to be confessed, in order that the Moral Providence of God should be justified, and he therefore insists that there is no necessity for such a justification, since he who had conferred prosperity, could, in his sovereign power, inflict adversity.

Mr. Wemyss adds,—“ Neither does the Scripture throw out the least word of reprehension as regards her conduct. She remains with her husband to the last; and at the close of her own and his trials, she becomes again the mother of ten children, and partakes of the renovated happiness of her husband. Nor when the Almighty orders expiation for the improper language of Job’s *friends*, is there any mention made of her conduct as betraying unbelief, impatience, or impiety.”

From the very earliest period to which historical information reaches, travellers in the East formed themselves into caravans, or companies, for the purposes of mutual protection and assistance. Though their first mention in Genesis is in connexion with the history of Joseph, there can be little doubt that they existed much earlier, for the brief notice of Egypt, in the life of Abraham, shews it to have been already a commercial country. But Job, who lived in the land through which the caravans passed, and where they had to encounter their greatest difficulties, supplies the exact circumstances which the sacred historian has omitted.

He beautifully compares his friends to a land-flood formed by the melting snows, which had speedily been absorbed in the sands and evaporated by the

summer heat; and he describes the consternation of the caravan from Teman, when they came to the place where torrents were known to descend from the mountains, in the hope of being able not only to slake their thirst but to fill their water-skins, and found the torrent-bed dry and the waters dissipated; he further notices the dismay of the caravan from Sheba, when their associates did not meet them at the appointed place :

As to my brethren, they are perfidious like a brook,
Like the torrent which rushes through the valley;
Whose waters are swollen by the melting of ice,
And turbid by reason of the snow—
Summer comes and they disappear;
The heat absorbs them and they are dried up.
Caravans turn thither on their route;
They perish in the midst of the desert.
The travellers of Teman looked anxiously,—
The caravans of Sheba panted for them;—
They blushed for their own confidence,
They came to the spot and were confounded.
—In like manner ye are become useless to me;
Ye see my misery and recoil with horror.

A dissimilarity of habits and customs suffices to shew that the Books of Genesis and Job, while they agree in the general estimate of patriarchal civilization, yet present it to us in different phases, and with such variety of species, as to shew that the records are independent of each other.

The funeral ceremonies of the Hebrew patriarchs, previous to the migration of Jacob's family into Egypt, were remarkable for their severe simplicity. Abraham was an emir of great wealth and power; kings had shewn him respect, and courted his alliance. It might reasonably be expected, that the funeral obsequies of

such a powerful chieftain, and public benefactor, would have been celebrated with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of oriental magnificence; but on the contrary, we find him simply borne to the grave by his two sons, unaccompanied by any mourning train, or pompous solemnities.

The account which Job gives of the gorgeous procession attending the funeral of a man of rank in his country, affords a striking contrast to the almost naked simplicity of the funerals of Abraham and Isaac. He replies to the assertions of his friends, that adversity is a proof of guilt, by describing the gorgeous obsequies of wicked chieftains in the countries bordering on the Euphrates :

He is brought to the grave with pomp;
They keep watch over his tomb.
The sods of the valley are sweet to him;
Crowds follow his funeral solemnity;
Vast numbers go before it.

Another point of dissimilarity between the patriarchal records in Genesis and the Book of Job, is that the Hebrew fathers are never represented as coming into contact with a wretched and miserable race of outcasts; indeed, it would appear, that an average share of comforts was possessed by the various races amongst whom they settled. Job, on the contrary, describes a degraded and impoverished race of exiles, driven out from the fertile portions of the country, to seek shelter in the wilds and wastes of northern Arabia. This circumstance is characteristic of the difference which may exist between the developments of the same system of civilization in different lands. Palestine had neither

organized bands of plunderers, nor such a miserable herd of outcasts, as Job describes, when, as an aggravation of his misery, he says, that he was an object of contempt to the most wretched of the earth :

But now

I am held in derision by my juniors,
By men whose fathers I would have disdained
To set among the dogs of my flock.
Of what value was the power of their hands ?
They had neither strength nor vigour in them ;
Hardened by hunger and by wretchedness,
They retire into the solitude of the desert —
Into desolate and uncultivated wastes ;
They pluck up the mallow among thorns,
The root of the broom is food for them ;
Should they leave their retreats for a moment,
Men cry after them as after a thief ;
They dwell in cliffs, among the valleys,
In crevices of the earth, and in rocks ;
They bray among the bushes, like wild asses ;
They couple beneath the beds of nettles :
Brutish people ! without character and infamous,
Who were driven in disgrace from their country.

The difference between the amount of social indigence in Idumea and Palestine, led necessarily to a corresponding difference in the social duties of benevolence. We find no record of alms bestowed, of assistance rendered, of protection afforded, or of the various works of personal charity, which Job claims to have performed ; and this arises, not from any dissimilarity in the moral systems of the patriarchs, but from the difference between their respective social positions. The minuteness, familiarity, and ease with which the writer of the Book of Job describes the characteristics of a state of society different from that

of the Hebrew patriarchs as recorded in Genesis, is a convincing proof that these books are the work of different authors, and that each is a distinct and independent testimony to the condition of patriarchal civilization ; whilst each is confirmatory of the other, because the coincidences are undesigned.

Nothing but the perverse habit of treating the Bible as one book, and not as a collection of books bound together, could have prevented Biblical students from perceiving that the Book of Job is an independent testimony, confirmatory of the general accuracy of the Book of Genesis ; and that their attempts to harmonize them, to make them appear the productions of the same individual mind, actually weaken the authority of both. The absence of all allusions to the stupendous chain of miracles in the deliverance of the children of Israel from the Egyptian bondage, on the one hand, and the total silence respecting Job in the Pentateuch, on the other, are circumstances sufficient to prove that the authors of the two records were in nowise connected. There is but one historical incident—and even of that we must speak doubtfully—mentioned both in Job and Genesis, and that is, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Such a fearful incident must have produced a very powerful influence on the minds of all throughout Western Asia, and Job was much more likely to have heard of it by tradition than to have obtained it from the Pentateuchical archives. Indeed, the mode in which he mentions it—if, indeed, such be the event to which he alludes—clearly shews that he was not acquainted with the narrative as it is recorded in Genesis :—

Hast thou observed the ancient tract,
That was trodden by wicked mortals?
Who were arrested on a sudden;
Whose foundation is a *molten flood*.
Who said to God, "Depart from us;
What can the Almighty do to us?"
Though he had filled their houses with wealth —
Far from me be the counsel of the wicked.
The righteous beheld and rejoiced;
The innocent laughed them to scorn, saying,
"Surely their substance was carried away,
And their riches were devoured by fire."

It would be no difficult matter to deduce a very full account of the state of patriarchal civilization from the Book of Job, but such an investigation would lead us too far from our immediate subject; and perhaps we may appear to have been already tempted to digress too freely into our favourite paths of Biblical criticism. It was, however, important to shew that the Pentateuchical account of the origin of human society is fully confirmed by the most complete and authentic description we possess of the earliest form of society — the Patriarchal. In such a course it was scarcely possible to avoid noticing the arguments from undesigned coincidents that forced themselves upon our attention — even were they less directly connected with the account of the origin of civilization given in the preceding chapter.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed by Manning and Mason, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

THE
NATURAL HISTORY OF SOCIETY

IN THE
BARBAROUS AND CIVILIZED STATE:

AN ESSAY
TOWARDS DISCOVERING THE ORIGIN AND COURSE OF
HUMAN IMPROVEMENT.

BY
W. COOKE TAYLOR, ESQ. LL.D. M.R.A.S.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

VOL. II.

HOMO SUM: HUMANI NIHIL A ME ALIENUM PUTO —TERENCE.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMANS.

1840.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY MANNING AND MASON,
IVY-LANE, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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NATURAL HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION.

THE Holy Scriptures not only contain the best and most consistent account of the origin of civilization, but they furnish the most authentic description of the country in which civilization first made a remarkable advancement. The Books of Genesis and Exodus contain incidental notices of the condition of Egypt, by which we are enabled to estimate pretty accurately the progress of humanity at a remote age in the valley of the Nile; and these notices have recently derived unexpected confirmation from modern discoveries—for the monuments brought to light in Egypt confirm the accuracy of Scripture in every particular, and satisfactorily refute any counter-statements which had previously been allowed to rank as contradictory authorities. One remarkable instance of this new evidence for the accuracy of the Pentateuch, will serve fitly to introduce our examination of the Scriptural statements respecting the civilization of Egypt.

In the last century, the Books of Moses were often attacked, and their authenticity impugned, because they mention the existence of vineyards, grapes, and consequently of wine, in Egypt; for Herodotus expressly declares that there were no vineyards in Egypt, and

Plutarch avers that the natives of that country abhorred wine, as being the blood of those who rebelled against the gods. This authority appeared conclusive, not merely to the sceptics who impugned the veracity of the Pentateuch, but even to the learned Michaelles, who concluded that the use of wine was enjoined in the sacrifices for the purpose of making a broad distinction between the religious usages of the Israelites and of the Egyptians. The monuments opened by modern research have decided the controversy in favour of the Jewish legislator. In the subterranean vaults at Eilithyia every part of the processes connected with the dressing and tending of the vine are faithfully delineated;* the trellices on which the vines were trained, the care with which they were watered, the collection of the fruit, the treading of the wine-press, and the stowing of the wine in *amphoræ*, or vases, are there painted to the life; and additional processes of extracting the juice from the grape are represented, which seem to have been peculiar to the Egyptian people. Mr. Jomard adds, that the remains of *amphoræ*, or wine vessels, have been found in the ruins of old Egyptian cities, which are still encrusted with the tartar deposited by the wine.

It is not necessary to account for the error into which Herodotus has fallen; he wrote long after Egypt had been distracted by civil wars, and then subdued by the Persians; calamities quite sufficient to account for the disappearance of such a highly artificial cultivation as that of the vine must have been in Egypt. His statement is most probably correct, if it be limited to the period when Herodotus wrote; and thus viewed it

* See the Bible Illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt, p. 50.

becomes important evidence for the superior antiquity both of the Bible and the Egyptian monuments.

The land of Egypt was visited by Abraham about four hundred years after the Flood according to the computation of the present Hebrew text, or twelve hundred years according to the Septuagint. It had then an organized government, a king with the title of Pharaoh, a court, a nobility—"the princes of Pharaoh,"—and a system of domestic servitude; for we find male and female slaves enumerated among the presents bestowed by the Pharaoh upon Abraham. Females had greater freedom than they usually enjoyed in the East, or in Egypt itself at a later age; they were not confined to the harem, they were permitted to go about unveiled, and their personal charms were made the subject of conversation.

The next mention of Egypt is connected with the history of Joseph. He was sold to certain Midianites or Ishmaelites, who had established a regular caravan trade with Egypt, the articles of commerce being "spicery, and balm, and myrrh." The precious metals had become a medium of exchange before this time, for Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah with silver from the children of Heth; but the progress of commerce had probably introduced some mode of coining or stamping, by which the value of the bullion might be made known without the necessity of assaying and weighing it, for the price paid to Joseph's brethren was twenty *pieces* of silver. Joseph was sold by the merchants to Potiphar, "an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard, or chief of the executioners;" for the punishment of criminals in Eastern countries is

generally entrusted to the royal guards. Here, then, we have two additional proofs of progress—a regular foreign trade, and something like an established coinage.

Domestic slavery appears to have been very mild at this time in Egypt, for Joseph enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom; and that females were not yet deprived of their natural liberty is obvious from the history of Potiphar's wife. A more important element of civilization, however, is the existence of a legal system of imprisonment,—“Joseph's master took him and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners were bound.”

It may appear whimsical to point out a prison as a sign of improvement, but unquestionably the existence of a system of legal punishment is evidence of advancement, for it shews that the regular empire of public law has superseded the blind impulses of private revenge. In a less civilized country than Egypt then was, Potiphar would have slain or mutilated Joseph on the spot.

The reigning Pharaoh had a court and a royal establishment; for two of his officers, his cupbearer and the master of his household, were committed to the same prison as Joseph, and from their dreams it is evident that the arts of confectionery and of preparing grateful beverages had been at this time cultivated with success. Pharaoh's dreams add, that the Egyptians were acquainted with the artificial feeding of cattle, for it is said that the seven fat kine were fed on the *achú*, not “a meadow,” as it is rendered in our version, but the succulent water-plants of the Nile.*

* See the Bible Illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt, p. 44.

When Joseph was summoned from the prison to attend the court, we find it recorded that "he shaved himself,"—a remarkable custom among the Egyptians, in which they differed from most other ancient nations of the East. It further appears that the Egyptian monarch had at his court a regular establishment of diviners or soothsayers, to whom he had applied for the interpretation of his dreams, from whence we may reasonably conclude that the sacerdotal caste had already acquired considerable political influence in Egypt; and this is further confirmed by the marriage of Joseph into a priestly family immediately after his appointment to the office of prime-minister. This marriage also shews that the rules of caste were not so rigid as they afterwards became, for at a subsequent period, intermarriages between priestly and other families, more especially strangers, were strictly prohibited.

The honours which Joseph received from Pharaoh throw considerable light on the progress of civilization at the period. Investiture of office was given by entrusting him with the signet-ring of the monarch, which proves that the arts of jewellery and engraving were known; he was clothed in a *khelát*, or official robe, as is still usual in the East; he received a gold chain, and was permitted to ride "in the second chariot," so that at this early age chariots were used in Egypt, not only for the purposes of war, but also of state.

The account of Joseph's administration shews that agriculture was conducted in the immediate vicinity of cities, "the food of the field which was round about every city laid he up in the same." This was probably

necessary for the purpose of security, as we shall soon see that the agricultural Egyptians were exposed to frequent incursions from their nomade neighbours. The taxation of Egypt was levied as a corn-rent, and hence royal officers were appointed to take an account of the produce, "Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it was without number."*

Joseph's address to his brethren directs attention to the peril to which Egyptian civilization was exposed, from the defenceless condition of the north-eastern frontier: "Ye are spies, to see the nakedness (or unprotected state) of the land ye are come." Between the times of Abraham and Joseph, the incursions of the nomades from Arabia and Syria had inspired the Egyptians with an intense hatred of nomade or pastoral tribes. No objection was made to the reception of Abraham at court, but the Egyptians would not eat with the brethren of Joseph, because shepherds and Hebrews, or "wandering people," as the name signifies, were an abomination to the inhabitants of Egypt.

The whole scene of recognition between Joseph and his brethren, though a beautiful picture of domestic life and fraternal affection, adds little to our knowledge of the state of civilization. But there is one incident in the narrative, to which so many objections have been made, that it merits a brief notice. Joseph's steward says, when he charges the brethren with stealing the cup, "Is not this it in which my lord drinketh, and

* From the monuments, it appears that the royal officers were present at the operations of winnowing and stowing, to take an account of the produce.—See the Bible Illustrated, etc. p. 40.

whereby indeed he divineth?" and Joseph himself says, "Wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?" This simple statement appeared so difficult to many grave critics, as it alluded to a custom supposed to be without a parallel in ancient authors, that they suggested the necessity of a new reading or a new translation. "Who," exclaims Houbigant in his note on the passage, "ever heard of auguries taken by the agency of a cup?"* Baron Silvester de Sacy, however, has shewn from an incident in Norden's travels, that this very custom is still preserved in Egypt. By a singular coincidence, Baram Kashef told the travellers, that he had consulted his cup, and discovered that they were spies, who had come to examine how the land might be best invaded and subdued.†

The grant of the land of Goshen was no act of romantic generosity on the part of the reigning Pharaoh, it was the result of wise policy. His subjects, devoted to agricultural pursuits, disliked the care of cattle, and thus the pastures of Goshen were neglected, and the frontier left unprotected. He rendered the district profitable, and the rest of his kingdom secure, by assigning this exposed province to a brave and hardy race, who held it by the tenure of military service.

* Most people are aware that taking auguries from the grounds of coffee or tea in a cup is a common popular superstition, both in Great Britain and Ireland. Rules for determining the signification of the omens are given in various publications which still continue to circulate among the lower ranks of society.

† Hydromancy, or divination by some kind of fluid mirror, is a common superstition throughout the world: for instance, a Chinese work, describing the kingdom of Thibet, written in 1792, says, "sometimes they look into a jar of water, and see what is to happen."

Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Oct. 1829.

The Pharaoh himself plainly intimates that such was his motive—"if thou knowest any men of activity (that is, warriors) amongst them, then make them rulers over my cattle." The descendants of Jacob were faithful to their trust; they not only repelled the attacks of the plundering tribes from Western Asia, but carried the war into the enemies' country, and extended their incursions to Palestine; as we learn from the only passage in the Jewish records, which contains any notice of the history of the Israelites during the interval between the death of Joseph and the birth of Moses. In the enumeration of Joseph's grandchildren, (1 Chron. vii. 21-23), we find the following mention made of the descendants of Ephraim. "And Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Eser and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in that land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle." *

A great constitutional change was effected in Egypt during the administration of Joseph: he made the king lord of the soil, or proprietor of all the land save that which belonged to the priests, and this change greatly increased the power of the sovereign, and of the sacerdotal caste. But Egypt was to a considerable extent a constitutional monarchy, even in the days of Moses; for that inspired legislator, foreseeing that the Israelites would become weary of the Theocracy, and demand a king to rule over them, gave them instructions respecting the establishment of royalty, obviously derived from the approach to a constitutional monarchy, which he had witnessed in Egypt, as is obvious from the very apposite description of a despotic ruler given

* See Illustrations of the Bible, etc. p. 19.

by the prophet Samuel, who derived his idea of a king from the petty tyrants of Canaan. Moses principally dwells on the importance of a written code of laws, by which the monarch should be bound as well as his subjects. "And it shall be, when he sitteth on the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests and the Levites; and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life . . . that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment to the right hand or to the left." It deserves also to be added, as a proof of the superiority of the Egyptians over the nations of Palestine, that Moses dwells very emphatically on the dangers of polygamy, both from having perceived the advantages of restriction in Egypt, and from his knowledge that the contrary practice prevailed in the country which the Israelites were about to inhabit. "Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away." On the other hand, Samuel with equal emphasis denounces the certain system of domestic slavery and female degradation which would ensue from the establishment of monarchy in Israel.

The process of embalming, which requires some considerable skill in the medical art, was certainly known to the Egyptians in the age of Joseph, for the body of Jacob was subjected to that process, and that of Joseph was so well preserved as to be carried by the Israelites, without injury or inconvenience, through all their wanderings in the Desert, until it was finally deposited in the Promised Land. In the account of Jacob's funeral,

we meet, for the first time, with the mention of cavalry: "there went up both chariots and horsemen, a very great company." It is, however, very probable, that the use of horses for riding was rare until a much later period of history.

For our present purpose it is unnecessary to examine the history of Moses and the account he gives of the Exodus. We have abundantly proved elsewhere that the Pharaohs by whom the Israelites were oppressed belonged to a foreign and intrusive dynasty, and shewed how this explained the silence of the monuments respecting the ten plagues, and the silence of the Scriptures respecting Sesostris.* As our object is simply to collect the scattered and incidental notices relating to the state of Egyptian civilization, we have nothing to do with a period when Egypt was enslaved to strangers; and, therefore, we pass on to the notices of the country after it had recovered its independence.

Solomon, soon after his accession, opened a commercial intercourse with Egypt, and obtained from thence horses to mount his numerous cavalry; chariots, which were always among the finest works of Egyptian art; and linen-yarn,—“the king’s merchants received the linen-yarn at a price.” We have seen that so early as the days of Joseph, Egypt had become a commercial country, and we now find that it had advanced so far as to export its manufactures. There are no materials for a history of the rise and growth of manufacturing industry in Egypt, but there is abundant evidence of its great extent, and importance to the country. Not only the yarn, but the woven fabrics were imported from

* See Illustrations of the Bible, etc. p. 80.

thence into Palestine during the reign of Solomon, for the seducer in the Book of Proverbs says, "I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved work, with fine linen of Egypt." The prophet Isaiah, describing the misery which the foolishness of the Egyptian rulers was likely to bring upon their subjects, particularly alludes to the injuries that would be done to the spinners and weavers—"Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net-works (or, white works), shall be confounded."* The prophet Ezekiel adds, that the export of textile fabrics from Egypt was an important branch of Phœnician commerce; for in his enumeration of the Tyrian articles of traffic he says,

* "Some persons have supposed that by 'white works,' as the original is more properly rendered, the prophet intended to describe the cotton manufactures, and this conjecture seemed to be confirmed by the muslin-like appearance of many of the robes depicted on the monuments. But a microscopic examination of the threads in the various specimens of Egyptian linen brought to this country has indisputably proved that none of them contain a single particle of cotton. There is also a species of linen found round the mummies which at once explains the cause of the glossy appearance to which reference has been made.

"The fabric has a considerable difference in the number of the threads, the difference being always in favour of the warp, in a superficial inch, of which we always find more threads than in one of the weft.

"This difference is so great in some specimens that the threads of the weft are completely hid by the others, which gives the linen manufactured on this principle a very silky or shining surface like satin.

"There is also a fabric which comes very near silk crape in appearance, which was probably used for ladies' dresses. This article must have been very dear, on account of the extreme fineness of the threads. It was so very transparent it might have been used for veils, and other articles of female attire, according to the paintings found on the sides of the tombs."—*Wilde's Narrative*, vol. i. p. 490.

"Fine linen with brodered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elisha was that which covered thee."* Specimens of Egyptian brodered work are found covering the mummies, and some of the most remarkable varieties are thus described in a note appended to Dr. Wilde's very interesting Narrative of a Voyage in the Mediterranean.† "There are several specimens of the open linen embroidered with a double-threaded worsted, exactly like modern Berlin worsted." One of these is interesting:—the pattern represents roses with four petals, shaped like hearts, arranged in lozenges composed of buds of different colours, which cross the linen obliquely, and thus present the appearance of an embroidered net of many colours. There is another pattern in which we have a double pyramid in the centre of the lozenges, and the diagonal lines forming the pattern, like the centre pieces, made of little squares. In this pattern there are only green and orange worsteds; in the former we have three kinds of red, two blues, a white, and a yellow. In both cases the linen ground appears to have been dyed a nankeen colour.

"Our specimen is embroidered with a pattern like a shell, which is of different colours. The helix, or whirl, is in *purple worsted*;‡ and as the famous colour of

* It deserves to be remarked, that the prophet here joins the isles of Elisha, or Elis, that is of Western Greece, with Egypt; thus seeming to confirm the ancient tradition, recorded by Herodotus, of some Egyptian colonists having settled in those regions, which the sceptics of the German school of History have thought proper to deny.

† Vol. i. p. 431.

‡ It may be observed that Ezekiel assigns the purple fabrics to the

Hellas, or the Tyrian dye, was most probably found in this part of the shell, the chances are in favour of the artist using *it*, for the purpose of making the spiral from an ordinary association of ideas, or, as Square would have said, 'a certain fitness or propriety in devoting the colour to that part of the artificial shell in which it exists in the natural shell.'"

It is recorded that Solomon paid six hundred shekels* of silver, or about seventy-five pounds of our money, for an Egyptian chariot, while the price of a horse was only one hundred and fifty shekels, or the fourth part of that sum. We may therefore conclude that the chariots were of very superior workmanship, especially when we find it mentioned, as a proof of artistic skill in the ornamental parts of the Temple, that "the work was as the work of a chariot-wheel." In the book of Canticles, which, though it has a more holy and mystic import, was originally an epithalamic ode on Solomon's marriage with the daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh, a singular proof is given of the beauty of the equipments of the chariots, and of the estimation in which they were held; for one of the compliments paid to the princess, is, "I have compared thee, O my love, to a company of horses in Pharaoh's chariots."† These

isles of Elisha, or the districts of Western Greece; and this a little strengthens the tradition to which we have before alluded, of the ancient connexion between these regions and Egypt.

* According to Reland, the value of the silver shekel varied from 2s. 4d. to 2s. 10d.; we may therefore take 2s. 6d. as an average.

† This circumstance explains a difficult passage which has sadly perplexed the commentators. In the same song, Solomon, describing excessive joy, says, according to our version, "Or ever I was aware, my soul made me like the chariots of Amminadib;" but the more correct translation is, "My soul set me on the chariots of a noble

chariots appear to have been the principal strength of the Egyptian army, for they are always prominently mentioned when any reference is made to the military strength of that country. Hence the prophet Isaiah, shewing the folly of those who trusted to the Egyptians against the Babylonians, instead of reposing confidence in the God of their fathers, says, "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many, and in horsemen, because they are very strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord."

The scriptural records more than once allude to the great advancement of learning among the Egyptians, and to the institutions that existed for the cultivation of the arts and sciences. Among the qualifications of Moses for the office of legislator, it is particularly mentioned that "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" and the highest praise bestowed upon Solomon, is, that "his wisdom excelled all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Isaiah, in his denunciation of divine wrath against Egypt, mentions the learned men as a separate and distinct class. "Surely the princes of Zoan* are fools, the counsel of the wise councillors of Pharaoh is become brutish; how say ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings? Where are they: where are thy wise men? and let them tell thee now, and let them know what the Lord of Hosts hath prepared for Egypt! The

people," that is, of the Egyptians; and thus rendered, the passage is a beautiful compliment to the country of the princess.

* Probably the city called Tanais by the Greeks; it was occasionally a royal residence.

princes of Zoan are become fools ; the princes of Noph* are deceived ; they have also seduced Egypt, even they that are the stay of the tribes thereof." This remarkable passage very clearly intimates, not only that men of learning formed a distinct class, but also that the councillors of state were chosen from their body.

We have shewn that Egypt possessed a constitutional government, at least to the extent of having the monarch's will controlled by a written code of laws ; that it had an established religion, an organized hierarch, and a national worship ; that it had institutions for instruction in the arts and sciences, the fame of which was spread into very distant lands ; that it had an extensive system of commerce and manufactures ; and that the Egyptian artists in some particular branches of industry, had attained a very considerable degree of eminence. We have formed this estimate of their civilization, not from their own monuments, which may possibly have been falsified in a later age ; not from the direct accounts of the Greek historians, who were liable to be imposed upon by their authorities,—the Egyptian priests ; but from the scattered hints and incidental notices in the history of another people, where there could be no possible motive for deception or misrepresentation.

Archdeacon Paley has ably shewn the great evidence derived from undesigned coincidence between two independent documents, for the authenticity and veracity of both.† The writer has elsewhere applied the argument to confirm the historical veracity of the Old Testament,

* Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt.

† See the *Horæ Paulinæ*, *passim*.

from the pictorial records which the Egyptians have left of their manners and customs, and has shewn abundant evidence for the authority of the Old Testament in matters relating to Egypt.* But there have been recently some efforts made to diminish the amount and antiquity of Egyptian civilization by some zealous advocates of scriptural truth, and it seemed therefore of importance to shew that while the scriptural narrative is confirmed by the monuments, the state of civilization represented on the monuments is fully confirmed by Scripture. It is not necessary to enter further into this controversy: the elements of civilization, the existence of which we have established, are quite sufficient to shew that the Egyptians, at a very remote age, had attained a greater eminence in civilization than any other nation of which we possess a historical record.

Turning from the amount of Egyptian civilization to an examination of its nature or essence, we are everywhere struck with the prevalence of forms and fixed rules. This must necessarily be the case wherever the principle of caste is established, and all ancient authorities combine to prove that caste was more rigidly enforced in Egypt than in any other country. It may not be possible to give an accurate account of the origin of such a system, but there is still room for plausible conjecture.

In the earlier chapters we have shewn that most of the elements of civilization are valuable in proportion to the intelligence that has presided over their development; and we have particularly noticed that every error

* See Illustrations of the Bible from the Monuments of Egypt.

which has misled humanity was not a pure falsehood, but contained within it a certain portion of truth, to which it was mainly indebted for its success.* The division of labour—one of the earliest principles of civilization—is exceedingly likely to have suggested the institution of caste, as it unquestionably did guilds, companies, and mercantile corporations, many of which very closely approximated to the principle of caste. It may be added, that in the infancy of the arts such a system might exist for a long time without producing any perceptible injury; it might even be attended with seeming good. It would obviously give fixity to the hierarchy of the state, and set the ruling classes above the fear of competition.

We by no means wish it to be understood that this system could have been thus introduced at once, and by a single effort; but we think it very probable that if the national mind was once turned in the wrong direction, nothing but external force could bring it back to the right path. Falsehood is not less pregnant than truth: unfortunately for mankind, erroneous opinions very rapidly generate pernicious institutions, which continue to maintain their existence, and even a considerable portion of their influence, long after the opinions on which they are founded have been abandoned by all the world.

The necessary result of caste is, that it fosters practice and excludes principle; it encourages the art, but

* This is more especially the case if the truth contained in the error is one that is generally neglected at the time. Thus the doctrine of the Divine Unity when Mohammedanism was first preached, was wholly lost among the idolatrous Arabs, and was greatly obscured among the Christian sects of Asia and Greece.

destroys the science. In religion, caste produces a tedious ceremonial and an unmeaning ritual, with little or no reference to creed; in politics, it creates a law fettered by usages and precedents, but destitute of the vivifying power of jurisprudence to accommodate it to times and circumstances; and in the arts of life, though it may increase the perfection of old processes, it effectually prevents new discoveries. Every one who visits a collection of Egyptian antiquities, will be equally struck by the excellence of the manipulation, and the poverty of invention displayed in the patterns.

Caste, therefore, renders civilization stationary, or rather causes it to retrograde, by removing farther and farther from view the intellectual and moral reasons of its enactments. Whatever may be the stock of civilization possessed by a people when the mind is thus rendered stereotype, its quality must begin to deteriorate, though the quantity may appear unvaried. Moreover, it lies at the mercy of accidents; a foreign invasion or a civil war may sweep away the skilful hands, and there is no stock of intelligence to supply the want of practical knowledge. Such undoubtedly was the case in Egypt, for after the Persian invasion the mechanical skill for which its artisans were celebrated, totally disappeared.

Another result of caste is, that the members prefer the interests of their class to the interests of their country. Heroclitus informs us that during the reign of Lethos, the warrior caste, indignant at the exclusive preference shewn to the sacerdotal caste, of which the king was himself a member, unanimously refused to march against the Assyrians; and in the reign of

Psammetichus, two hundred and forty thousand warriors, enraged at the favour which the monarch shewed to his Greek auxiliaries, migrated in a body to Ethiopia. There are obscure traces also of opposition to the royal power by the sacerdotal caste, when the monarch seemed more inclined to the warriors than to the priests.

The territorial division of Egypt into names aggravated the disunion arising from the system of caste, with which it was intimately connected. Isaiah directly points to the jealousies arising from these political and territorial distinctions as a chief cause of the downfall of Egypt. "I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every man against his brother and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom." It was probably about the time of this prophecy that the Egyptians established the dodecarchy, or a government of twelve princes, to each of whom a particular part of Egypt was allotted. According to the few and obscure accounts which Herodotus gleaned from the priests, these rulers belonged to the warrior caste, but it was evidently intended that they should be subservient to the sacerdotal college, and its head the chief-priest. It is a dangerous experiment for a hierarchy to administer the government by the intervention of rulers not belonging to its body. Jealousy between the powers of the church and state, directly leading to open hostility, must be the inevitable result. Psammetichus, aided by a body of foreign mercenaries, destroyed the sacerdotal supremacy, expelled the other rulers, and made himself master of all Egypt.

Under the new race of monarchs, a social element

was introduced which dislocated the ancient system of civilization. Hitherto the Egyptians, like the Chinese, had prevented foreigners from passing beyond the frontiers, save in rare instances; they had avoided maritime affairs, abandoning the commerce of the Mediterranean to the Phœnicians; and since the age of Sesostris they had not attempted to enlarge their boundaries. Indeed Sesostris himself does not appear to have intended to make permanent conquests; he sought glory and plunder, not territorial acquisition. Psammetichus encouraged foreigners to enlist in his armies and settle in his seaports, and aimed at the conquest of Syria and Phœnicia, which contained the great commercial marts of antiquity. This course of policy was adopted by his successors; and whatever its merits may have been, it was quite inconsistent with the existing institutions of Egypt.

Hierocracy, and a system of caste, cannot be long maintained against the rival influence of free commercial intercourse, which always has a tendency to level distinctions. The Brahmins of India were so well aware of this fact, that they threatened loss of caste to all who went upon a long voyage. The disadvantages of caste must soon become obvious to those of the lower grades when they are brought into contact with persons unfettered with such restrictions; and the priests, if they wished to maintain their ancient system, should either have relaxed their old institutions, or prevented the development of the new element in society. The latter was a very hopeless task, but it was the alternative which they embraced. It is probably the course which would be adopted under similar

circumstances, by any caste or class accustomed to ascendancy; men in such a state rarely accommodate themselves to the necessary changes, the process of adjustment is obviously difficult, and it appears to demand considerable sacrifices, scarcely to be expected from persons habituated to power and to the pride engendered by the possession of exclusive privileges. Even were an individual sufficiently enlightened to see that a sacrifice of power or dignity was rendered inevitable by the changes of times and circumstances, he would be restrained from adopting so prudent a course through fear of offending his class, and being stigmatised as a traitor. There were many of the French nobility, before the revolution, convinced that many privileges of their aristocracy—amongst others, exemption from taxation—ought to be abandoned; but they were prevented by the pride of class, from making or even supporting such a proposition.

The Egyptian priests were placed in open hostility to the new elements developed in the social system by extended foreign intercourse and maritime commerce, as all persons whose rank or power depends on ancient institutions are likely to be, to any new element developed in society. A contest was inevitable, in which the power of the hierarchy would have been greatly modified, if not abrogated, had not this result been more speedily effected by other circumstances, of a different nature.

When Necho, the son and successor of Psammetichus, defeated the Syrians, captured Jerusalem,* and over-

* 2 Kings xxiii. 33, and Herodotus ii. 159. The comparison of the two narratives exhibits an amusing example of the ignorance with

ran the country as far as the Euphrates, he came in contact with a new conquering empire, the Chaldean-Babylonian of course had to commence a new war, with a more formidable enemy than any he had yet encountered. The battle of Carchemish, or Circesium, decided that the Babylonians should have the empire of Western Asia. The prophet Jeremiah has left us a description of this terrible encounter, uniting the force of poetry with the truth of history:

“The word of the Lord which came to the prophet Jeremiah against the Gentiles, against Egypt, against the army of Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah. Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle. Harness the horses, and get up ye horsemen, and stand forth with your helmets; furbish the spears, and put on the brigandenes. * Wherefore have I seen them dismayed and turned away back? and their mighty ones

which objections are frequently made against the historical veracity of Scripture. The Greek historian calls the city captured by Pharaoh Necho *Cadytis*, and as this name is not at all like Jerusalem, it has been supposed by some that the narratives are inconsistent. But the Jews frequently called their city *Cadesh* or “the holy,” and in the Levant at this day, it is more commonly called *El Cods* “the holy,” than Jerusalem. *Cadytis* is obviously the Greek form of this epithet, which Herodotus very naturally took for a proper name.

* The offensive and defensive weapons here enumerated are found delineated on all the Egyptian monuments which relate to military affairs, and thus confirm the minute accuracy of the prophet. On the other hand the prophet's account indisputably proves that the Egyptians had made such proficiency in the art of war as to possess a regular military establishment.

are beaten down and fled apace and look not back, for fear was round about, saith the Lord. Let not the swift flee away, nor the mighty man escape; they shall stumble and fall towards the north, by the river Euphrates.

“Who is this that cometh up as a flood, whose waters are moved as the rivers? Egypt riseth up like a flood, and her waters are moved as the rivers; and he saith, I will go up, and will cover the earth; I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof. Come up ye horses, and rage ye chariots; and let the mighty men come forth; the Ethiopians and the Libyans that handle the shield, and the Luddim that handle and bend the bow.* For this is the day of the Lord God of hosts, a day of vengeance, that he may avenge him of his adversaries; and the sword shall devour, and it shall be made satiate and drunk with blood; for the Lord God of hosts hath a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates.”

The battle of Circesium not only deprived the Egyptians of all their conquests, but laid open their country to the perils of a hostile invasion. The conquerors pursued Necho beyond his frontiers, but there are no sufficient means for determining the extent to which they penetrated. From the days of Necho to the present hour the possession of Syria has been uniformly

* The Luddim (inaccurately rendered Lydians in our version) were a people of Northern Africa, and tributary allies to the Egyptians. They appear to have supplied the archers, next to the chariots the most efficient corps in the Egyptian army. Some of the bows were of such great size that they could not be bent without a considerable effort. It may be added that the Egyptian archers drew the bow to the ear, like the old English yeomen, not to the breast, like Greeks and Romans.

sought by the several dynasties that have ruled in Egypt, and this object of their ambition has been the most frequent cause of revolutions in their country.

A fleet was necessary to the attainment of Necho's objects, and both he and his successor, Pharaoh Hophra, zealously exerted themselves to render Egypt a maritime power. In the early part of his reign, Hophra* was eminently successful; he sent an expedition against the island of Cyprus, captured the cities of Gaza and Sidon, vanquished the king of Tyre in a naval engagement, and restored to Egypt that influence in Syria of which she had been deprived by the victory of Nebuchadnezzar. The king of Judah was induced by these events to revolt against the Babylonians, and enter into strict alliance with the Egyptians. This course of policy was denounced by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who declared that to repose confidence in Egypt was "to lean on a broken reed." Their predictions were accomplished. The Babylonians laid siege to Jerusalem, and Hophra, as he had promised, marched to its relief, but on surveying the hostile forces he marched home, leaving the Jews to the merciless rage of their enemies. Jerusalem was taken; Zedekiah was brought bound before the conqueror, who reproached the unhappy captive for his treason, ordered his children and friends to be slain before his face, deprived him of sight, and sent him fettered to Babylon.

The overthrow of the Jewish kingdom was generally attributed to the perfidious conduct of Pharaoh Hophra, and hence divine wrath was denounced against him by the prophets. Jeremiah's prediction of the monarch's

* Called Apries by the Greek historians.

fate was remarkably fulfilled; the prophet declared—
“Thus saith the Lord, Behold I will give Pharaoh Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar his enemy, and that sought his life.”

Military renown seems essential to the success of a monarch who attempts to make extensive and radical changes in the established institutions. A reverse of fortune is usually fatal to an innovator; the defeated soldiers are ever ready to throw the blame of their disaster on his erroneous policy. No one is so obnoxious to a popular cry as a reformer, and the more absurd the charge against him is, the more perilous is it likely to be in its consequences. Hophra declared war against the Grecian colonists settled in Cyrene; and as it was obviously dangerous to employ the Greek mercenaries in a campaign against their countrymen, he sent only his Egyptian warriors on the expedition. They were shamefully defeated: mortified by this sudden and unexpected check, they attributed their disgrace to Hophra himself, averring that he had sent them on this expedition to ensure their destruction. They persuaded themselves and others that his views were to weaken the power of the military class, and thus to remove the great barrier to his ambitious desire of subverting the constitution in church and state.

The standard of revolt was raised: Amasis, who was sent to reason with the insurgents, became their leader, and Hophra was deserted by all save his foreign mercenaries. These made a gallant resistance, but they were finally overwhelmed by numbers; Hophra

was taken prisoner, and was soon after strangled in prison.

It is remarkable that this revolution, undertaken to check the progress of innovation, introduced a greater innovation than any that had been yet attempted. Amasis the successful usurper, was a man of low caste, and consequently the fundamental laws were violated by his elevation to the throne. Indeed there is strong reason for believing that he was supported by the Assyrians, and that he purchased their assistance by becoming a tributary. However that may be, it is very clear that the entire reign of Amasis was a system of compromise; he favoured foreigners and encouraged commerce, while he bribed the priesthood, if not to connivance at least to forbearance, by rich donations and endowments. The overthrow of the Babylonian empire restored the independence of Egypt; and Amasis successfully exerted himself to efface the memory of his former vassalage. He refused to submit to the Persians who had founded a new empire on the ruins of Babylon, and died before he witnessed the fatal consequences.

Cambyzes, king of Persia, was invited to invade Egypt by a deserter from the Greek mercenaries: Psammetichus, the last of the Pharaohs, made a brave resistance, but he was at length overthrown, and Egypt became what it has ever since remained, the heritage of foreigners. Excessive cruelty towards the Egyptian priests, rancorous persecution of the national religion, the destruction and pillage of the temples, are attributed to Cambyzes; but these accounts are probably exaggerated, for they are all derived from the testimony of his enemies. A critical examination of his history

renders it probable that the hostility of the Persians was directed not so much against religious opinions and usages, as against the aristocratic corporation of the Egyptian priesthood; although it is impossible to separate one entirely from the other.* The influence of the sacerdotal caste under the latter Pharaohs was, indeed, no longer what it had been, but though weakened it had not been destroyed. They still possessed many exclusive privileges; they were the ruling caste, and both Psammetichus and Amasis had been forced to treat them with great consideration. Their interests, therefore, naturally clashed with those of a foreign conqueror; they stimulated the Egyptians to resist the invasion inch by inch, and the profanation of the temples and deities was the consequence of this political animosity. It was for the same reason that the Saracens refused quarter to the Greek monastics, in the provinces which they wrested from the Syrian empire.

In all the subsequent revolts of the Assyrians against the Persians, the priests were the principal fomenters of insurrection, and on them vengeance fell most

* This is Heeren's opinion, and it is certainly the view most consistent with the national character, both of the Persians and the Egyptians. It must, however, be observed, that the religious system of the Medes and Persians was more rigid and exclusive than any other form of ancient idolatry. They boasted that their laws changed not;—the friendship of the Darawesh, or reigning monarch, could not save Daniel from being thrown into the den of lions for adhering to the religion of his fathers,—the rage of Xerxes was principally directed against the temples when he invaded Greece,—and one of the earliest acts of Ardeshr Babegan, who founded the Sassanid dynasty, and restored the ancient royalty and religion of Persia, was to issue an edict prohibiting the exercise of any forms of worship save those authorized by the Magi.

heavily when the rebellions were suppressed. But as they had the monopoly of whatever science ancient Egypt possessed, their records were dispersed and lost in every successive persecution, their traditional knowledge became vague and obscure, so that in the time of Alexander the boasted wisdom of the Egyptians had become nothing more than a reminiscence and a name. Science, indeed, was revived by the Ptolemeys, but it was the science of a different system of civilization, and it never connected itself with a Theocracy.

The cause of the ruin of Egyptian civilization appears from the foregoing considerations, to have been the immutability which theocracy and the system of caste inflicted on the system. The priests, acting upon a belief in the continuance of unvarying opinion, defined every social relation, and dove-tailed the parts so nicely together, that any derangement threatened to dislocate the entire machine. Foreign invasion, intercourse with strangers, the extension of maritime commerce, combined with the ordinary progress of society, introduced new elements, for which there was no room in the ancient constitution; and hence a contest arose between the new and the old elements of society, in which the latter were weakened even by victory; the authority of the priesthood declined, and the troops withheld their obedience. Either of these circumstances must be fatal to a theocracy; both happened in Egypt, and "neither the swords of the mercenaries, nor the treasures of the people, could uphold the throne of the Pharaohs."*

* Heeren.

CHAPTER II.

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CIVILIZATION.

NEXT to Egypt, Babylonia and the banks of the Euphrates offer objects of most interest to the historian of civilization. Nowhere did the cultivation of the earth make more rapid progress from well-directed labour, and nowhere did human industry reap richer harvests. Though frequently devastated by barbarous hordes, its cities seemed to realize the fable of the Phoenix, by the rapidity with which they rose from the ashes of their own destruction. "In the earliest records of the human race, the name of Babylon appears as the primeval seat of political society and the cradle of civilization. And this name endured, great and renowned, for a long succession of ages. At last, when Babylon declined—just at the time when, according to the projects of the Macedonian conqueror, it was destined to form the capital of Asia and the central point of his new monarchy—Seleucia sprung up and flourished near it on the Tigris; ere this city fell, it was eclipsed by Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire; when both these were destroyed by the conquering Arabs, the royal cities of Bagdad and Ormuz arose in their place; and the last glimmer, as it were, of the ancient splendour of Babylon seems still to hover over the half-ruined Bussorah." *

Great difficulties beset the investigation of the system

* Heeren's Asiatic Nations, vol. ii. p. 130.

of civilization which was established in this highly-favoured region : the notices of Babylon in Scripture are very scanty during the important interval between the Dispersion and the accession of Nebuchadnezzar ; the accounts given by the Greek historians are loose and contradictory, and the few oriental records which we have, are so disguised by fable as scarcely to afford a statement on which reliance can be placed. Adulation and exaggeration have been the bane of oriental history ; the poet-laureat was usually the historiographer of every eastern sovereign, and he took more than a poet's license in distorting facts by fancies. The monarch of the universe frequently meant the sovereign of a territory not larger than the county of Middlesex ; an army of countless myriads was, in truth, not larger than a regiment of militia ; and the splendour of a court, represented as surpassing even the fictions of fairy tales, was merely the barbaric pomp of a half-savage chieftain, who hoped to impose on his still more savage subjects by show and tinsel. A more amusing contrast could scarcely be conceived, than a description of the Persian court by a native writer and by a European traveller.

It is indeed easy to account for one monstrous exaggeration in eastern writers, the number of their armies. An oriental despot levies soldiers *en masse* ; as he advances he compels all the male population to join his ranks, and as he never dreams of providing pay or provision, the number of deserters generally keeps a pretty even pace with that of the recruits. But though the soldiers disappear from the ranks, they hold their place in the muster-rolls of the army. By a convenient fiction, it is held impossible that any one who has been

offered an opportunity of exhibiting his devotedness to an imperial or royal master, should be so regardless of the honour as to return home; the leader who announced so disagreeable a truth, would run the peril of loosing his head; hence one-tenth, or even one-twentieth, is very often the proportion of available force which can be safely deduced from the official records of an eastern army. If Herodotus, as is probable, derived his estimate of the forces of Xerxes from a Persian source, it is not at all surprising that he has given a statement surpassing the bounds, not only of probability, but of possibility; the only wonder is, that he did not make them fifty millions instead of five.

Similar reasoning will not account for the enormous size attributed to ancient cities of the East, such as Nineveh and Babylon. But in this case the improbability arises from our transferring our notions of a modern city to those ancient capitals. Neither was a city of continuous streets and houses, such as those with which we are acquainted; they were an aggregation of villages, with their fields, farms and pasturage, enclosed by a common wall of defence. The prophet Jonah describes Nineveh, as "that Great City, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle." In this passage the mention of cattle clearly intimates that pastures were enclosed within the city walls. A similar account is given of Babylon by Quintus Curtius: "The buildings of this city," he says, "do not reach to the walls, but are at the distance of an acre from them. Neither is the whole city covered with houses, but only ninety fur-

longs; nor do the houses stand in rows by each other, but the intervals which separate them are sown and cultivated, that they may furnish subsistence in case of siege."

Although sacred and profane history unite in describing Babylon as a flourishing city in the most ancient times, still its age of glory can scarcely be dated earlier than the Chaldean conquest. The history of Ninus, Semiramis, and their descendants, is so involved in fable that it scarcely offers a single fact on which reliance can be placed; but from the Scripture we learn, that Babylon was celebrated for its manufactures so early as the age of Joshua, for it was the superior excellence of a Babylonish garment that tempted the cupidity of Achan. The prophet Isaiah, in a remarkable passage, describes the sudden rise of the Chasdim, or Chaldeans, and their success in wresting Babylonia from the Assyrians.

Behold the land of the Chaldeans;

This people was of no account:

The Assyrians founded it for the inhabitants of the desert.

They raised the watch-towers, they set up the palaces thereof.*

It appears from this statement, that the Chaldeans were a warlike nomade race, who invaded and subdued a country which had previously made a considerable advance in civilization; and from the boast of Nebuchadnezzar, "Is not this Babylon which I have built?"

* Isaiah xxiii. 13. Louth's Translation. The passage is thus rendered by Michaelis. "Behold the land of the Chaldeans; that nation which a little time since was not. The Assyrians subdued it, and gave it to the inhabitants of the desert; they transformed the wandering hordes of nations into settled residents, and built up the palaces of the land."

the conquerors seem to have adopted the arts of the vanquished. It is probable that caste existed in Babylon before the conquest, at least so far as the priesthood was concerned. The victorious race necessarily formed an aristocracy, or ascendancy, and if the Chaldeans imparted their right of precedence to the sacerdotal caste, we have some explanation of the perplexing confusion between the Magians, or priests, and the Chaldeans, which meets us both in sacred and profane history. The best description of the Chasdim, or Chaldeans, when they invaded Babylon, is that given by the prophet Habakkuk.

Lo, I raise up the Chaldeans,
A bitter and a hasty nation,
Which marches far and wide in the earth,
To possess the dwellings which are not theirs!
They are terrible and dreadful,
Their decrees and their judgments proceed only from themselves.
Swifter than leopards are their horses,
And fiercer than the evening wolves.
Their horsemen prance proudly around;
And their horsemen shall come from afar;
They shall fly like the eagle pouncing on his prey.
They all shall come for violence in hordes;
Their glance is ever FORWARD!
They gather captives as the sand!
And they scoff at kings,
And princes are a scorn unto them.
They divide every stronghold;
They cast up mounds of earth and take it.

This graphic description of a rude, warlike race, will at once remind the reader of the character of the hordes which overthrew the Roman empire. The barbarians entered into possession of cities abounding in wealth and luxury, and were soon corrupted by debauchery

and licentiousness. It is evident from the character of the Chaldeans, that they did not originate the commerce and manufactures of Babylon; war was their trade, and conquest their object: on the contrary, the original Babylonians were an unwarlike timid race, fond of show, and accustomed to a multitude of artificial wants, which could only be gratified by commercial intercourse with distant countries. These considerations remove many of the inconsistencies which at first sight appear in the early accounts of Babylon; the discrepancy between the attributes of a warlike and of a commercial nation, is at once explained by the fact, that two distinct races, the military Chaldeans and the trading Babylonians, possessed the city when its history began to be important. The process of amalgamation between these races would probably have been very slow, had not the ascendancy of the Chaldeans been subverted by the Persian conquest.

In large commercial cities, where multitudes of individuals are aggregated in a limited district, the relations between the sexes cannot be regulated by the same institutions as those of an agricultural population. There are temptations and opportunities for illicit and promiscuous intercourse, which must produce the most demoralizing results, unless they are carefully watched by the ruling powers, and unless remedial measures be devised by the legislator. This tendency to immorality is immeasurably increased, if the commercial population be subjected to a foreign or despotic power; self-respect, one of the greatest safeguards of virtue, is then removed, and profligacy, no longer shrouded in darkness, stalks forth boldly in noon-day. The moral condition of

Venice, under the yoke of Austria, and of Babylon after its conquest by the Chaldeans, equally prove that freedom and self-government are the only efficient checks to the corrupting influences of commercial wealth and a crowded population.

The luxury and licentiousness of Babylon were not less remarkable than the pomp and magnificence of the city. In no place were female manners more ostentatiously depraved; there was even a religious enactment for licentiousness. Herodotus informs us, that every woman was obliged by law to prostitute herself to strangers, in the temple of Mylitta, once in her life, and was not allowed to reject any stranger who presented himself. The debauchery at their banquets almost surpassed credibility; women appeared at these orgies, divested of their garments, and of every sense of shame; nor were these hired nautch-girls, but the wives and daughters of the guests.* At the impious feast of Belshazzar, not only his princes, but his wives and his concubines, were present, though the city was at that very moment beleaguered by the Persian hosts. It was in the midst, not merely of festivity, but of debauchery, that the hand appeared on the walls of the banqueting-house, and traced the letters of a doom

* *Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus; nec ad irritandas incipientesque immodicas voluptates instructius. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritque patiuntur. Conviviales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt; Babylonii maxime in vinum et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur perfusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium principis modestus est habitus, dein summa quæque amicula exuunt: paulatimque pudorem profanant: ad ultimum (horror auribus sit) una corporum velamenta projiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur corporis vilitas.—CURTIUS v.*

which was consummated ere the fumes of the surrounding intoxication had been dissipated.*

The form of government established by the Chaldeans in Babylon did not differ very much from the ordinary oriental despotism. The monarch was absolute; the court was composed of his creatures, whose rank depended entirely on the royal will, but still had a regular gradation of title; the empire was divided into provinces or satrapies, in which the governors usually possessed both the civil and military authority; finally, there was a sacerdotal caste, the members of which must have possessed considerable influence from their supposed power of predicting future events. But in what relation the priests stood to the other orders of the state is unknown, and how they acquired the name of Chaldeans, which properly belonged to a people, is still matter of conjecture.

It appears from these circumstances that the real amount of civilization in Babylon was not very great, and that it was probably in extent and kind very similar to that of Bagdad under the Khaliphs. Commerce appears to have flowed to it, at least as much on account of its geographical position as from either the skill or enterprise of its inhabitants. Commerce brought wealth, but it also brought a dense population, and no adequate means were employed to check the abuses which necessarily arise from the accumulation of human

* From Xenophon's account, it appears that the very guards were intoxicated. We may remark that this circumstance was predicted by the prophet Isaiah, in his denunciation of divine wrath against Babylon.

The table is prepared, the watch is set; they eat, they drink.
Rise, O ye princes, anoint the shield!

beings within the circuit of a wall. The rude but war-like Chaldeans soon became enervated by the corrupting influences of the luxurious race they had vanquished, and when the enthusiasm of conquest had faded away, they fell an easy prey to the Persians. The utter ruin of the city followed the decline of its trade; there were no stone buildings, and when the walls of sun-dried brick were once allowed to fall into disrepair, they were gradually washed away and reduced to their original earth. Hence unsightly mounds alone remain to shew where "the Queen of the East" once stood, and the terrible denunciation of the prophet has been fulfilled to the letter.

Babylon shall become—she that was the beauty of kingdoms,
The glory of the pride of the Chaldeans—
As the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah by the hand of God.
It shall not be inhabited for ever;
Nor shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation,
Neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there;
Neither shall the shepherds make their folds there.
But there shall the wild beasts of the desert lodge;
And howling monsters shall fill their houses;
And there shall the daughters of the ostrich dwell;
And there shall the satyrs hold their revels,
And wolves shall howl to one another in their palaces,
And dragons in their voluptuous pavilions.*

From the few particulars recorded of the Assyrian empire, it appears to have been lower in the scale of civilization than the Babylonian. Nineveh, according to the description of the prophet Nahum, was an encampment rather than a commercial mart; its destruction therefore produced very little effect on surrounding nations, and its very name soon sunk into oblivion.

* Isaiah xiii. 19—22.

CHAPTER III.

PERSIAN CIVILIZATION.

"THE Persian Empire," says Professor Heeren, "owed its origin to one of those great political revolutions which are of such frequent occurrence in Asia. A rude mountain tribe of nomade habits rushed with impetuous rapidity from its fastnesses, and overwhelmed all the nations of Southern Asia (the Arabians excepted), from the Mediterranean to the Indus and Jaxartes. Even the nearest parts of Europe and Asia were shaken by their onset, and to a certain extent subdued; and in spite of frequent insurrections which broke out in these and other portions of their empire, and were not always completely repressed, the Persians continued to maintain their general supremacy for a period of full two centuries."*

Few nations of antiquity seem to have taken more pains to transmit an account of their early history, policy, and government, to posterity. We find in the Book of Esther that a record was kept in the royal chronicles of every important event connected with the administration. When the conspiracy of the eunuchs against Ahasuerus was discovered by Mordecai, "inquisition was made of the matter, and when it was found out, they were both hanged on a tree, and it was written

* Heeren's Asiatic Nations, i. 92.

in the Book of the Chronicles before the king.”* But notwithstanding all their care, our knowledge of the political and social condition of the ancient Persians is principally derived from the writings of the Hebrews and the Greeks; the native records were destroyed in the many successive revolutions which have desolated Central Asia; and the few facts imperfectly preserved by tradition have been so perverted by national pride and poetic fiction, that they can scarcely be received as illustrations, much less as authorities.

From the time of the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great (B.C. 330) to the restoration of a native dynasty by Ardashír Babegan (A.D. 226), a period of more than five centuries, Persia was subject to the iron rule of foreigners, who hated and persecuted her ancient literature, institutions, and religion. The Seleucidæ, who inherited the dominions of Alexander in Asia, made it the great object of their policy to Hellenize the nations subject to their sway; they persecuted equally the religion of the Jews and of the Persians, and they speedily lost their empire over both. Headed by the gallant Maccabees, the Jews recovered their independence, but the Persians only exchanged the Syrian yoke for that of the Parthians—a race indeed cognate to their own, but for that very reason eager to destroy the memory of their former degradation.

If any effort was made after the restoration of the Sassanid to collect the scattered materials of Persian history, and to gather the memorials of the early greatness of the nation, it is obvious that after the lapse of five centuries such labours could not have been very

* Esther ii. 23.

successful. Some religious books were probably preserved by the priests who found shelter in the mountains of Irán: the ballads in which Xenophon informs us that the memory of popular heroes and monarchs was celebrated,* might have survived in tradition, and from these an imperfect record might have been compiled. But even these scanty records had to undergo new and more fiery ordeals: the Arabs, in the first burst of their enthusiasm after their embracing Mohammedanism, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, overran and subdued Persia, destroying in the fury of their fanaticism every memorial of its ancient religion and history. Doubts have been thrown on the burning of the library at Alexandria by the followers of the prophet of Mecca, but no one has ever questioned the destruction of the great library collected at Ctesiphon or Al Modain; it was one of the first objects against which the bigotry of the Arab conquerors was directed.

"We learn," says Sir John Malcolm, "from every cotemporary historian, that the followers of the prophet of Arabia were so irritated by the obstinacy with which the Persians defended their independence and their religion, that they destroyed with bigoted fury all that could keep alive a spirit they found it so difficult to subdue: cities were razed; temples were burnt; the holy priests that officiated in them were slaughtered; and the books in which were written whatever the learned of the nation knew, either of general science or of their own history and religion, were, with their possessors, devoted to destruction. The priests of the

* Xenophon *Cyrop.* sub init.

Persians, who were termed *mujous*,* or magi, were all considered sorcerers, and their profane works were viewed as the implements of their wicked art. For a proof of this feeling, we have only to refer to the popular tales of Arabia, where we find that every act of wickedness or of witchcraft, is the deed of a Gueber, or Gaur;† and that term, which means no more than a follower of Zoroaster, has, from the impressions it excited at the dawn of their religion, become synonymous with the reproachful epithet of infidel over the whole Mohammedan world.”‡

It was not until nearly after four centuries that any effort was made to collect the relics of the Persian archives which survived the second catastrophe, and the few fragments recovered were given to the poet Firdausi by the celebrated Mahmood of Ghizni, to form the basis of an epic poem. The *Sháh-Námeh*, or Book of Kings, as Firdausi's poem is called, has thus become the great source of all the subsequent accounts of Persia written by natives of that country; from what we have said, it is evident that the poet's materials must have been miserably scanty; and it may be added, that his attention was more particularly directed to whatever concerned Eastern Persia, to which his patron belonged, and that he neglected Western Persia, which was pre-

* This comes from the Persian word *mugh*, which signifies an infidel priest; generally applied to the priests of the Guebers, but sometimes to Christians. This word is sometimes used in Persian poetry to signify a tavern-keeper. This is, however, only a metaphorical application of the term.—M.

† Gaur is a corrupt abbreviation of Gueber, as Moal is of Mogul, etc.—M.

‡ Sir J. Malcolm's *Persia*, i. 200.

cisely the part that most occupied the attention of the Greeks and the Hebrews.

Some oriental antiquarians have shewn a disposition to prefer the native Persian accounts to those of the Greeks, but the preceding statement is quite sufficient to prove that the authority of Fudausi cannot be placed in competition with that of Herodotus. On the other hand, the Rev. Dr. Wall has argued from the present inconsistency and absurdity of Persian history, as given by native writers, that the Persians never had historical records. All the authorities, sacred and profane, however, concur in establishing the fact that chronicles were regularly kept under the inspection of the monarch; and assuredly, the invasion of the Greeks, five centuries of slavery under the Parthians, the Mohammedan conquest, and four ensuing centuries of anarchy and confusion, are quite sufficient to account for their dispersion.

The traditions preserved in the sacred books of the Parsees, the descendants of those adherents of the native religion of Persia who were so fortunate as to escape from Mohammedan bigotry, rest on different and higher authority. It is not attempted to deny that they have been greatly corrupted in the long course of ages; but still they contain legends bearing so obviously the stamp of remote antiquity, that nothing but extreme scepticism would lead to their rejection.

According to the Vendidad, the most ancient portion of the Zendavesta, the original country of the Persians was *Eriene-Veedjoo*, from which their race migrated in a westerly direction, settling successively in sixteen different localities, to each of which they gave the name

Eriene, obviously the same as *Iran*, the modern name of Persia. Although it is scarcely possible to determine accurately the position of these sixteen settlements, it is clear from the mention of Soghdi as the earliest, that the legend assigns the origin of the race to the mountainous regions extending from the Altaic range to the Paropamisian chain and the Himalaya; that is to the country which we have in a former chapter shewn to have been most probably the first habitation of the human race after the Deluge. The tradition adds, that the Iranians commenced their migrations with a considerable stock of civilization; Jemshíd,* their leader and legislator, instructed them in the arts of agriculture, tillage, and cattle breeding, and gave them institutions suited to a settled community.

But the nature of the country did not permit all the settlers to follow the same occupations. Irán, or Persia, contains probably a greater variety of soils than any other country of the same size; its most fertile spots are often in close proximity to the desert. Only a small number could devote themselves to agriculture; the rest, either as shepherds or herdsmen, became nomades. Thus, "by the variety of their occupations, rather than the diversity of their origin,"† the original race was divided into distinct tribes; some of which, like the Medes and Bactrians, acquired wealth and power from agriculture, for which their land was suited,

* The Achæmenes of the Greeks; even in the days of Herodotus this hero was referred to the ages of fable and tradition; and it is a singular confirmation of that historian's veracity, to find that Jemshid has always been revered as the founder of their race by the native Persians.

† Heeren's Asiatic Nations, i. 329.

and from commerce, the highways of which crossed their territory. Others, like the Persians, continued a nomade life, as shepherds and herdsmen in their native fastnesses. Not a little of the confusion in the early history of Asia arises from the monarchs of one race being often confounded with those of another by courtly genealogists, who thought to flatter the pride of the reigning monarch by shewing that every hero of eminence was to be ranked among his ancestors.

Like all other pastoral races, the ancient Persians were divided into several tribes, of which the most noble was the Pasargadæ; and the tribes themselves were subdivided into families, in which great importance was attributed to purity of descent. As might also be expected, the leading family claimed Jemshíd for its founder, and was hence called the Achæmenidæ.

This constitution of tribes and families has always prevailed among the nomade races of central and southern Asia: it prevails amongst the Arabs, the Mongols, and more particularly among the Afghans, who in modern history have most remarkably exemplified the process by which a political constitution is gradually formed from the mere association of tribes.* Indeed the modern history of the Afghans is the best comment on the early career of the Persians.

The Medes disputed the dominion of central Asia with the Babylonians; they called themselves Arii, a name probably-identical with the Sanscrit *Arya*,† which

* See Elphinstone's Account of Caubul—the most interesting and philosophical account of a people in the state of transition from a nomade to a political life that has ever been published.

† The Brahmins divide mankind into the Aryas, or pure, and Mlechas, or impure, just as the Greeks only recognised the distinction of Hellenes and Barbarians.

signifies a man of pure descent. A young Persian prince induced his countrymen to revolt against the Median ascendancy, and assumed the imposing name of Khores, or Cyrus, which signifies *the sun*.* He triumphed over all opposition, extended his empire from the borders of India to the shores of the Mediterranean, established the Persians as the ascendant race, the Pasargadæ as the ruling tribe, and the Archæmenidæ as the royal family.

When we thus view the object and result of the great revolution effected by Cyrus, it appears obvious that the Persian empire could not, even in its most prosperous days, have been universally and equally civilized. The ascendant race, and more especially the ruling tribe, attained a degree of improvement by possessing leisure for the cultivation of the arts of peace and luxury; the other tribes remained in their original barbarism, and had little if any share in this advancement. We find from Herodotus, and from the historians of Alexander, that this distinction was universally observed; and that, even in war, the ascendancy or superiority of the royal race and tribe was very ostentatiously maintained.

The institutions adopted by Cyrus for the government of the empire he acquired, were such as might have been anticipated from a conquest effected by nomade tribes.

* Khor, in Parsee, signifies the sun—hence

That delightful province of the sun,
The first of Persia's lands he shines upon,

has received the name of Khor-assan. The name Khores was taken by several other sovereigns, and like the Egyptian Pharaoh seems to have been frequently used as a title.

Armies of occupation were quartered in the conquered provinces, which the inhabitants were compelled to support; tributes were levied at the discretion of the sovereign; garrisons were placed in the cities and fortresses, and commercial intercourse was viewed with suspicion and discouraged.* Nations that made a fierce resistance, or proved refractory after their subjugation, were transplanted into other lands, and in some instances warlike tribes were compelled to adopt habits of luxury and effeminacy. Laws were made to encourage the ascendant race to maintain their superiority by practising the warlike arts which had been the source of their success; but these laws soon fell into disuetude. The Persians, like all other nomade conquerors, soon adopted the manners and customs of the more civilized nations they had subdued, just as the Mantchew Tartars have adopted the institutions and habits of their Chinese subjects.† But it was from the Medes that the Persians derived most of their institutions, and hence their laws are in Scripture invariably called “the laws of the Medes and Persians.” The notion of immutable law, to which Daniel so nearly fell a victim, was of Median, not Persian, invention;‡ for when a Persian

* The jealousy of foreigners manifested by the government of China is not to be attributed to the Chinese themselves, but to the Mantchew Tartars who have conquered the country.

† Herodotus remarks, that “no nation in the world was so ready to adopt foreign customs as the Persians.”

‡ Some objections have been made to the historical authority of the Book of Daniel, on account of the mention of “Darius the Mede;” because from all other authorities it appears that the ruler’s name was Cyaxares, or Kai Kaoos; but Darius, or more properly Darawesh, is not so much a proper name as a title of dignity, and signifies simply

monarch proposed to marry his sister, a union forbidden by ancient laws, his courtiers informed him that there was a law permitting the king of Persia to act as he pleased.

The revolution effected by Cyrus was religious as well as political; the sacerdotal caste was exclusively Median, and the transfer of ascendancy to the Persians was therefore calculated to weaken their authority. We see, from the history of Daniel, that they were exceedingly jealous of strangers, and that it was on a religious pretext they attempted the ruin of the Jewish minister. From the partiality which Cyrus shewed to Daniel, and the entire nation of the Jews, it may be concluded that this monarch was not favourably disposed towards the exclusive claims of the Median priesthood, though there is no direct evidence that he openly declared himself their enemy, as his son and successor Cambyzes undoubtedly did. The Jews, however, have a tradition that he was instructed in the true religion by the prophet Daniel, and that he exerted himself to substitute the worship of Jehovah for the system of idolatry established among the Medes and Babylonians.

It would lead too far from the subject to enter into any discussion of the life of Cyrus; volumes have been written on the relative claims of Xenophon and Hero-

"a monarch," and hence the royal coins of Persia, under whatever sovereign they were minted, were called Darics.

In like manner Ahasuerus, or Achaz Zwerosh, is more an epithet than a name, and signifies "a brave hero." Not only in the history of eastern but of western nations great confusion has arisen from mistaking titles for proper names: thus, Brennus is usually given as the name of the Gallic chieftain who conquered Rome; it is merely the Latin form of his Celtic title Brenn, which signifies "a general."

dotus to be received as the decisive authority; and the advocates of both have equally appealed to the brief notices in Scripture, as confirmations of their views. It may, however, be noticed that Xenophon in his preface pretty plainly intimates his purpose to write a romance rather than a biography, and the authorities to which he appeals are the popular ballads of Persia, and not its historical records.

Cambyzes persecuted the sacerdotal caste in Egypt, as he had previously done in Persia, and the Magi entered into a conspiracy for his overthrow. It is not very easy to explain the plot that elevated the pretended Smerdis to the throne, but from the imperfect accounts we possess, it is evident that the plot was formed by the Magi, and that its object was the restoration of empire to the Medes.* It seems probable that the impediments offered to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, notwithstanding the decree of Cyrus, were imposed upon the Jews by the Median usurper, who was jealous of their attachment to the Persian race.†

The revolution by which the Magian usurpation was overthrown proved fatal to the supremacy of the sacerdotal caste; they were everywhere slaughtered by the Persians, and night alone saved the entire order from extermination. A festival was instituted to commemorate their overthrow, and for many years afterwards no Magian could venture to appear in public on this anniversary.

* Plato distinctly says, "Cambyzes was for his debauchery and madness deprived of his empire by the Medes, by means of the eunuchs, but Darius restored the kingdom to the Persians.

† Ezra iv. 7—24.

The question which was agitated after the overthrow of the usurper, whether the empire should be governed by a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy, has been rejected as an improbable fiction, simply because it has been misunderstood. There is nothing more likely than that the heads of half-settled tribes, as the leaders of the Persian revolution undoubtedly were, should deliberate whether they would restore the ancient independence of tribes, preserve the ascendancy of the Pasargadæ, or royal tribe, or submit to a single ruler. A similar difficulty presented itself to the Afghans after the expulsion of Shah Soojah, and they established a species of aristocratic republic, under the Baurikzye brothers; similar forms of government are common in the Rajpoot states, and were sometimes adopted by the Mongolian hordes. The circumstance has been deemed improbable, from European ideas having been attached to the terms aristocracy and democracy, but when they are interpreted according to the known usages and temper of oriental nations, the deliberation on the form of government becomes one of the most natural that could have arisen from the situation of affairs.

Darius Hystaspes, or in the oriental form, the Darawêsh Gushtasp, was descended from the royal family of the Achæmenidæ, that is from Jemshîd, the great founder of the nation. Although in Asiatic nations primogeniture does not determine the right of succession, yet the choice of a monarch is usually restricted to a single family: thus the Turks, who seem only to have encamped in Europe, retaining fondly the usages of their nomade ancestors, notwithstanding all the changes of realm and the chances of time, always choose

their sultan from the house of Othman. And this limitation explains the cause of the fratricides with which so many oriental sovereigns have commenced their reigns.

Under the reign of Darius Hystaspes, the Persian system of civilization received its definite form and almost its complete development. His great object was the organization of the empire; and this was a meritorious labour, even though the basis on which it rested may have been erroneous. No system would seem less likely to be permanent than the Turkish, and yet it has lasted for several centuries, because it is complete in all its parts.

The adoption of a fixed residence by the monarch led to the abandonment of nomade life by the royal tribe of the Pasargadæ; but neither the king nor his nobles abandoned the domestic habits of their ancient life, particularly the practice of polygamy, which we have in a former chapter shewn to be a characteristic of pastoral and wandering tribes. Darius also divided the empire into satrapies, or provinces, assigning to each regular governments, and a civil administration distinct from the military. Had the monarch abandoned all plans of conquest, and devoted his attention exclusively to developing the resources of his empire, a gradual system of improvement would have arisen, and the heterogeneous materials of which his dominions were composed might have been fused and amalgamated. But it is rarely that a nomade race of warriors sinks down into a peaceful nation: centuries elapsed before the Turks abandoned their plans and hopes for the entire subjugation of western Europe; the dream of

universal dominion was not peculiar to the Persians ; it has always been adopted by every victorious race of nomades—by the Arabs, the Mongols, and the Mantchew conquerors of China.

Darius resolved to conquer Greece, a country peculiarly unfitted for the movements of cavalry, in which the Persians, like every other nomade race, principally excelled. He levied armies on the usual plan of oriental despots—that is to say, by conscription *en masse*—and sent these untrained hordes to fight against a people who, beside their courage and patriotism, had the inestimable advantage of military discipline. They were defeated ; but the immense losses at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, and the vast sums wasted on these mighty armaments, were of less importance than the change wrought in the national character. The Persians almost immediately ceased to be a race of warriors, and sunk into luxury, debauchery, and effeminacy ; they entrusted the defence of their empire to bands of mercenaries, just as the Turks in later times reposed their confidence almost exclusively in the battalions of janizaries, recruited from Christian slaves.

The demoralizing influence of mercenary troops extended farther than Persia ; it corrupted the states which supplied, not less than that which employed, these hireling bands. We find Xenophon, an Athenian of rank and a philosopher of no mean character, selling his services as an adventurer to a treacherous usurper, against a prince with whom his country was in close alliance. Nay, we find him consulting with Socrates on the occasion, and the great moralist making no attempt to shew him that such a course was manifestly

iniquitous. From Xenophon's own record it is easy to discover the calamitous effects produced by the employment of mercenaries in Persia; it was to the foreign troops that Cyrus the younger looked for aid in his revolt against his brother, and it was on them that the turbulent satraps chiefly relied in their frequent revolts against their sovereign.

Heeren justly remarks, that "mercenaries frequently render the times subsequent to a war more disastrous than the war itself;" bands of men held together only by the hopes of pay and plunder, and selling themselves without scruple to the highest bidder, must soon degenerate into hordes of banditti; and the historian of the "Ten Thousand" is unable to hide that such was the result with his celebrated companions. In like manner, during the feudal ages, the Free Companies when not engaged in the service of a monarch, made war upon their own account, and kept the greater part of Europe in continual terror. This evil is now remedied by the establishment of standing armies, and though many abuses must necessarily follow from such an institution, far more disastrous consequences would ensue from a return to the ancient system.

But nothing contributed so strongly to the ruin of the Persian empire, as the constitution of the harem and the court. Wherever woman is degraded by the pride or passion of man from her proper position as "a help meet for him," to his toy, his slave, and his victim, she has avenged herself by acquiring illegitimate influence as a compensation for her rights, and female power is generally most formidable where it is least recognised. From the Book of Esther we can form a

correct notion of the interior economy of a Persian palace. The timid queen risks her life by coming uninvited into the presence of her lord, but when she employs the blandishments of her sex, the master in his turn becomes the slave, his firmest purposes are changed, and his favourite minister sacrificed without a struggle.

Esther's exertion of influence was directed to a noble aim and a patriotic purpose; but the fragments of Ctesias shew us that other queens of Persia employed the same means to gratify the worst extravagances of revenge, jealousy and ambition. It was at such a banquet as Esther's, that queen Amestris obtained from Xerxes power over her sister-in-law, and mutilated her in a manner too horrible to be described.

Uncertainty of succession is the necessary result from the existence of a harem, and this has produced innumerable civil wars in every age of oriental history. In ancient as in modern Persia, every vacancy of the throne produced fratricide, assassination, and not unfrequently civil war, so that the empire was periodically subjected to the most frightful disorders. These evils were aggravated by the constitution of the court, which consisted chiefly of the royal tribe of the Pasargadæ, men who claimed clanship or relationship with the sovereign, and therefore added pride of birth to insolence of station. Both causes led them to tyrannize over the other subjects of the empire, and as they had the monopoly of all high offices, the rest of the nation was severely oppressed to gratify the rapacity of this "subordination of vultures." Hence the great body of the nation felt little influence in the fate of their

rulers ; one or two pitched battles decided the fate of Persia ; there was no national resistance to the invader — it seemed as if Darius and Alexander merely contended for the military occupation of the country, while the great body of the nation looked on as unconcerned spectators.

It is impossible not to be struck with the similarity between the ancient Persians and the modern Turks ; both were essentially nomades, and continued so in character and partly in habit, long after they had acquired settled abodes. The adherence to the usages of their ancestral life has been with both the chief element of their weakness and their barbarism, and in all probability will in both cases produce the ruin of their empire. Fanaticism, indeed, has been a conservative principle which has long maintained Turkey, but it is very doubtful whether its efficacy would resist the efforts of Russia, did not the mutual jealousy of the European powers prevent them from permitting schemes of conquest.

CHAPTER IV.

PHŒNICIAN AND CARTHAGINIAN CIVILIZATION.

FROM empires founded by warlike races of nomade conquerors, in which the efforts of the legislators were chiefly directed to maintain as much as possible the training and the feelings belonging to their ancient wandering life, after the community had become settled, we turn to a race owing its pre-eminence almost exclusively to the arts of peace. "The Phœnicians," says Heeren, "spread themselves, not by fire and sword, and sanguinary contests, but by peaceable and slower efforts, yet equally certain. No overthrown cities and desolated countries, such as marked the military expeditions of the Medes and Assyrians, denoted their progress, but a long series of flourishing colonies, agriculture, and the arts of peace, among the previously rude barbarians, pointed out the victorious career of the Tyrian Hercules."*

The Phœnicians belonged to the same race as the Canaanites and Syrians, and probably were a trading people on the coasts of the Red Sea before they migrated to the Mediterranean. Though not equal to the Egyptians, the Canaanites had attained a very high

* Heeren's Asiatic Nations, ii. 57. There can be no doubt that the mythus of the Tyrian Hercules describes the maritime progress of the Phœnicians, for wherever they formed a colony they established the worship of their national deity.

degree of civilization so early as the days of Abraham. A portion of them, at least, retained the original purity of religion, and worshipped the one true God, as is evident from the history of Melchizedek. But at the same time traces may be discovered of the increase of the worship of the productive powers of Nature, a form of idolatry which has always led to sensuality and licentiousness. Their mode of government was monarchical, but not despotic; the public business was transacted in popular assemblies, and each petty king was obliged to consult his subjects before entering into any important engagement. It was to the children of Heth, not to their king, that Abraham bowed himself when about to make a purchase of land; Ephron did not treat with the patriarch alone; the whole tribe took a share in the transaction; and Hamar, king of Shechem, consulted his subjects respecting the answer he should make to the proposals of the sons of Jacob. Each city had its own king, as was the case in Greece during the heroic ages, but though independent of each other, they were frequently united by some form of confederation; we find for instance, "the five kings of the cities of the plain" leagued together against Chedorlaomer. The cities were strongly fortified; in the words of the sacred historian, they were "great, and fenced up to heaven." Exorbitant ambition and lust of rule could not have been among their vices, or else there would not have been so many petty kingdoms remaining when the country was invaded by Joshua. There is, indeed, one exception, in the instance of Adonizebek; but the sacred narrative shews that his ambitious cruelty was a rare and individual example.

The separation of the Canaanites into so many petty states greatly facilitated the progress of an invading army; it was not until the submission of Gibeon, which appears to have excited more alarm than the destruction of Ai, that a combination was formed to resist the progress of Joshua, and even then five monarchs only joined the confederacy. Still the resistance of the Canaanites was very pertinacious: notwithstanding the miraculous aid which the Israelites received, six years elapsed before the conquest of Canaan was effected, and even then it was far from complete, for the Israelites, weary of the war, permitted many of the tribes to remain in their original habitations.

The Israelite wars must have destroyed a great part of the land trade of the Syrians, and consequently must have given a stimulus to the maritime enterprise of those who had settled along the coast between Aradus and Tyre. Their country was the natural asylum of those who fled before Joshua; it was a short line of coast, rich in bays and harbours, protected by the chain of Mount Lebanon, whose heights not only covered the land, but being crowned with magnificent forests, supplied valuable materials for fleets and habitations. In the Book of Joshua, Tyre is mentioned as "a strong city," and apparently as the limit of the dominions of the Israelites on their western frontier, and we find it similarly described when the children of Israel were numbered by command of David.

An enterprising population in a restricted territory naturally devotes itself to commerce and manufactures; and in the earliest ages we find the Phœnicians celebrated for their skill and industry in various produc-

tions of art. Their females particularly excelled in spinning and weaving. In the forty-fifth Psalm, which was primarily designed as a nuptial ode on the marriage of Solomon with an Egyptian princess, though prophetically it sets forth "the majesty and grace of Christ's kingdom," it is particularly mentioned that "the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift." In the sixth book of the *Iliad*, we find Hecuba selecting a garment embroidered by Phœnician captives, as the most costly offering to conciliate the goddess Minerva:

The Phrygian queen to her rich wardrobe went,
Where treasured odours breath'd a costly scent.
There lay the vestures of no vulgar art,
Sidonian maids embroider'd every part,
Whom from soft Sidon youthful Paris bore,
With Helen, touching on the Tyrian shore.*

But it was for the superiority of their dyes that the Phœnicians were principally celebrated. The Tyrian purple formed one of the most extensive and highly-prized luxuries of antiquity. Homer informs us, that a girdle of this precious material was deemed an adequate exchange for a golden goblet.

The parting heroes mutual presents left :
A golden goblet was thy grandsire's gift ;
Æneus, a belt of matchless work bestowed,
That rich with Tyrian dye refulgent glow'd.†

It would lead us too far from our immediate subject to examine the nature of the dyes used by the Phœnicians. It will be sufficient to say, that they produced every variety of tint, and had the art of giving their stuffs that lustrous appearance which we usually call a shot-colour.‡

* *Iliad* vi.

† *Ib.*

‡ The reader will find a very full account of the Phœnician dyes in *Amati De Restitutione Purpuranim*.

Glass was an article of which the Phœnicians claimed the invention; but, as we have seen, it was known in Egypt from remote antiquity. But though not the inventors, the Phœnicians were the most extensive manufacturers of glass in ancient times. The principal establishments for this branch of industry, were at Sidon and Sarepta, and the sand employed was obtained from the little river Belus, which flows at the foot of Mount Carmel. With this art was joined the manufacture of toys, baubles, and various ornaments, with which the Phœnicians supplied the surrounding nations.* Eumæus, in reciting his adventures in the *Odyssey*, mentions a chain of gold and amber brought by Phœnician merchants to the palace of his father:

An artist to my father's palace came,
With gold and amber chains' elaborate frame:
Each female eye the glittering links employ;
They turn, review, and cheapen every toy.†

The land-trade of the Phœnicians was very extensive. They maintained an intercourse with the extreme south of Arabia, with India, Babylonia, and Persia, and with

* "If," says Heeren, "we may assume that the ornaments worn by the Jewish ladies were of Phœnician manufacture, which can scarcely be doubted, then the passage in Isaiah iii. 18, will give us an accurate view of them:—'In that day will the Lord take away the ornaments of feet-buckles, and the cawls, and the little moons; the earrings, and the little chains (query, bracelets?) and the veils; the frontlets, and the feet-chains, and the girdles, and the smelling bottles, and the amulets; the rings for the fingers, and the nose-rings; the holiday clothes, and the petticoats, and the mantles, and the pockets; the mirrors, and the shifts, and the turbans, and the flowers.'—(*Gese-nius's Translation*.) In the following verse are mentioned the artificial hair arrangements, 'the well-curled locks.'—*Heeren's Asiatic Nations*, ii. 90.

† *Odyssey*, xv.

the wild tribes of the Caucasus. The twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel enumerates the different marts on the Indian sea visited by the merchants of Tyre; and some of the places mentioned, Aden, Canna, and Haran, retain their names unchanged to the present day. But the maritime commerce of the Phœnicians was still more celebrated than their caravan trade. The prophet Ezekiel has enlarged, with great force and elegance, on the effect that the predicted fall of Tyre would produce in the distant lands with which that city was connected by the ties of commerce :

Thus saith the Lord Jehovah concerning Tyre :

At the sound of thy fall, at the cry of the wounded,

At the great slaughter in the midst of thee, shall not the islands tremble ?

And shall not all the princes of the sea descend from their thrones,

And lay aside their robes, and strip off their embroidered garments ?

They shall clothe themselves with trembling, they shall sit on the ground ;

They shall tremble every moment, they shall be astonished at thee ;

And they shall utter a lamentation over thee, and say unto thee—

How art thou lost, thou that wast inhabited from the seas !

The renowned city that was strong in the sea, she and her inhabitants,

That struck with terror all her neighbours !

Now shall the coasts tremble in the day of thy fall,

And the isles that are in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure.*

* Ezekiel xxvi. 15—18. The corresponding prediction of Isaiah is equally remarkable :

Howl, O ye ships of Tarshish (Western Europe),

For she is utterly destroyed within and without.

From the land of Chittim (the Greek isles) the tidings are brought unto them !

Be silent, O ye inhabitants of the sea-coast !

The merchants of Sidon, they that pass over the sea, crowded thee ;

And the seed of the Nile, growing from abundant waters,

The harvest of the river, was her revenue ;

And she became the mart of nations.

The Phœnicians navigated the Red and the Indian seas. They had commercial establishments on the Baharein islands, in the Persian Gulf, and most probably a factory in the island of Ceylon; and in Spain, the Tarshish of the Scriptures, a name subsequently preserved in the city of Tartessus. A Phœnician squadron, employed by Pharaoh Necho, circumnavigated Africa, and discovered the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, six centuries before the Christian era. Some doubts have been thrown on this achievement, though the testimony of Herodotus is express on the subject; and the very circumstance which he relates as incredible, namely, that in the course of their voyage the marines had seen the sun in the north, which of course they must have done after crossing the equator, is a decisive proof of the truth of the history. There is unquestionable evidence that the Phœnicians traded with the British islands, principally for tin; and there are plausible grounds for conjecturing, that they had found an entrance into the Baltic. It is, indeed, certain that they possessed a greater share of nautical skill than any other nation of antiquity, and that they displayed a greater spirit of enterprise than the Genoese, or the Venetians, in the middle ages.

Be thou ashamed, O Sidon, for the sea hath spoken;

Even the mighty fortress of the sea, saying,—

“I am as if I had not travailed nor brought forth children;

As if I had not nourished youths, nor educated virgins.”

When the tidings shall reach Egypt,

They shall be seized with anguish at the tidings of Tyre!

Pass ye over to Tarshish—howl, O ye inhabitants of the sea-coast!

Is this your triumphant city, whose antiquity is of the earliest date?

Her own feet bear her far away to sojourn,

ISAIAH xxiii. 1—7.

Three demoralizing influences are usually found in the history of most commercial states, especially those of antiquity : a jealous tyranny over subject and subsidiary states, the employment of mercenary troops, and the institution of slavery ; and these are found to co-exist with much political knowledge, and a large share of constitutional freedom. Imperfect as our acquaintance with Tyrian history is, we can distinctly trace the ruinous effects of these causes in the circumstances that heralded and led to the overthrow of Tyre. About the time of Solomon, Tyre obtained political supremacy over the other cities of Phœnicia, and imposed restrictions on their trade, to prevent their rivalling the capital. Instances of such short-sighted policy are unfortunately too abundant, both in ancient and modern times, for us to reprehend the Tyrians too severely. So late as the reign of William III., the English parliament addressed the king to discourage the woollen manufactures in Ireland ; and one of the principal objects in the colonial legislation of Spain, was to prevent the growth of manufacturing industry in her American possessions. The palpable injustice of such legislation needs no comment ; but it is of importance to shew, that it must fail to accomplish the end proposed, and must, besides, involve in heavy loss those for whose benefit the attempt is made. When the Dutch destroyed the spice trees in the Moluccas, for the purpose of keeping the trade in their own hands by conferring it to one spot, they, in effect, held out an encouragement to the other nations of Europe to attempt the cultivation of spices in other parts of Asia. They did so, and they succeeded. The islands where

the trees had been destroyed were ruined, and the contractors for the produce in the places where they had been spared, were forced to compete with new rivals, and were reduced to beggary in the struggle. The Tyrians destroyed the trade of Arvad, Sidon, and Sarepta, but they did not gain the commerce of those cities; on the contrary, it was divided among the Greeks, and soon enabled them to become formidable rivals of the Phœnicians.

The prophet Ezekiel distinctly mentions the mercenaries employed by the Tyrians: "They of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut, were in thine armies, thy men of war; they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness. The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers; they hanged their shields upon their walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect."* It is probable that these mercenaries proved faithless when the city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, for we read of no attempt being made to raise the siege. The cities of Phœnicia dependent on Tyre joined the invader, as they formerly joined Chalmaneser, for they preferred the despotism of the Assyrians and Babylonians to the commercial tyranny of their own countrymen.

Though the government of Tyre may properly be

* There is some difficulty in determining the geographical position of the nations mentioned as supplying Tyre with soldiers: Lud may either mean the Lydians, or the Luddim, a nation of Africa. Phut, according to Josephus, is in Mauntania; Arvad or Aradus was a Phœnician city. The Gammadim, or "strong men," were probably a select body of warriors, so named from their strength and appearance, not from their nation.

called constitutional, for the authority of the king was limited by that of the magistrates and council, this freedom was felt only by the citizens; none of its blessings were extended to the slaves. Indeed, though the Tyrian "merchants were princes, and her traders the honourable of the earth," the lower ranks of society were generally wretched. The prophet Isaiah, in his denunciation against Tyre, emphatically dwells on the distinctions of rank and fortune in the city :

And it shall be as with the people, so with the priest;
As with the slave, so with his master;
As with the handmaid, so with her mistress;
As with the buyer, so with the seller;
As with the borrower, so with the lender;
As with the usurer, so with the giver of usury.*

But though we possess very scanty materials for a history of the poor and the lower ranks in Tyre, and indeed among the nations of antiquity generally, we have abundant evidence of the extent to which the slave trade was carried by the Phœnicians, and the evils that slavery produced in their country. Though Palestine was the granary of Tyre, and a friendly intercourse cemented by treaty existed between the Jews and the Phœnicians from the age of Solomon, the Tyrians did not scruple to steal the children of their allies, and sell them as slaves beyond the seas. The prophet Joel severely reprobates this iniquity, and threatens a similar fate to the children of Tyre. "The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem, have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border. Behold, I will raise them out

* Isaiah xxii. 2.

of the place, whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompense upon your own head; and I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hands of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people far off; for the Lord hath spoken it.”* The prophet Amos likewise mentions the slave-dealing of the Phœnicians, and the advantage they took of the misfortunes of the Jewish kingdom, to extend this detestable traffic. “Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof, because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the covenant of brethren.”† The legendary history of ancient Greece is full of allusions to the piracies and kidnapping propensities of the Phœnicians. In the *Odyssey*, we find Eumæus, the swineherd of Ulysses, declaring his royal parentage, and relating the base arts by which the Phœnician pirates seduced him when a child from his father’s palace. The passage is too illustrative of the ancient iniquity of the slave-trade to be omitted:

Freighted it seems with toys of every sort,
A ship of Sidon anchor’d in our port,
What time it chanced the palace entertain’d,
Skill’d in rich works, a woman of their land;
This nymph, where anchored the Phœnician train,
To wash her robes descending to the main,
A smooth-tongued sailor won her to his mind,
For love deceives the best of woman-kind.

* * * * *

She then proceeds: “Now let our compact made,
Be nor by signal, nor by word betray’d,
Nor near me any of your crew descried
By road frequented, nor by fountain-side.

* Joel iii. 6—8.

† Amos i. 9.

Be silence still our guard ; the monarch's spies
 (For watchful age is ready to surmise)
 Are still at hand ; and this revealed, must be
 Death to yourselves, eternal chains to me.
 Your vessel loaded, and your traffic past,
 Dispatch a wary messenger with haste :
 Then gold and costly treasures will I bring,
 And more, the infant offspring of the king.
 Him childlike wandering forth, I'll lead away,
 A noble prize, and to your ship convey."*

He then relates how the detestable plot was put into execution. Many other legends also might be quoted, but the express testimony of the ancient historians to the great extent of this detestable traffic, is so decisive as to leave no doubt on the subject.

The demoralizing influence of slavery on the owners and masters of slaves has been already noticed. Isaiah dwells strongly on the profligacy and licentiousness of the Tyrians, comparing their city to a harlot ; indeed slavery everywhere produces a striking corruption of morals, and more especially supplies incentives to the early and premature depravity of youth. Slavery is twice cursed ; " it curses him that yields, and him that rules," and the degradation of the ruler is both the more deep and the more permanent.† Among the

* *Odyssey*, xv.

† We find the following striking fragment preserved in the *Life of Dr. M'Crie*, just published by his son. " Who would be a slave ? is the exclamation of those who are themselves free, and sometimes of those who, provided they enjoy freedom themselves, care not though the whole world were in bondage. But there is a sentiment still more noble than that. Who would be a slave-dealer, a patron, an advocate of slavery ? To be a slave has been the hard but not dishonourable lot of many a good man and noble spirit. But to be a tyrant—that is disgrace ! To trample on the rights of his fellow-creature—to treat him, whether it be with cruelty or kindness, as a

Tyrians slavery was carried to the worst excess, and it provoked one of the most fearful retributions recorded in history. Justin informs us that the slaves in Tyre formed a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night, married their mistresses, and slew all males that did not belong to their race. They chose Strato for their sovereign. In the reign of his son, the city was taken by the Macedonians, and Alexander justified his atrocious massacre of the inhabitants by declaring that they ought to be treated as revolted slaves.

The progress of the Phœnicians in learning and the sciences has been celebrated by the Greek historians, who assert that Europe, and particularly Greece, derived the knowledge of arithmetic, astronomy, and the rise of letters, from the Phœnicians. Their statements, however, are too vague and general for us to derive any exact information respecting the nature and extent of the Phœnician studies.

Though commerce has been the great civilizer of nations, yet it may be so perverted and misapplied as to become a source of degradation and ruin. It is a common error to regard the accumulation of wealth as the sole end of commerce, and then to assume that wealth always produces demoralizing consequences. It

dog—to hold him in chains when he has perpetrated or threatens no violence—to carry him with a rope round his neck, not to the scaffold but to the market—to sell him whom God made after his own image, and whom Christ redeemed, not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, and by the act of transference to tear him from his own bowels—that is disgraceful. I protest before you, that I would a thousand times rather have my brow branded with the name of *Slave* than have written on the palm of my hand or sole of my foot the initial letter of the word *Tyrant*.”—*M'Crie's Life*, 279.

becomes then a matter deserving consideration, whether the vices which undeniably prevailed in Tyre are to be attributed to trade or wealth, or whether they can be traced to causes quite independent of commerce and national riches.* In the first place, however, we must say a few words on traffic generally, and shew that it is not less natural to man—that is, not less obviously an end and purpose of his being, than labour.

“There is a design for which all things were made and ordained, going beyond the things themselves. To say that things were made, or that the arrangement and relations of things were ordained for their own sake, is a proposition without meaning. The world, its structure, productions, laws, and events, have no good nor evil in them—none, but as they produce these results in the experience of living creatures.”† If traffic be a natural propensity of man, and still more if it be a necessity forced upon him by his physical and moral constitution, there must be an end in business beyond supply, and an object in the acquisition of wealth beyond success; both must contribute to man’s well-being, and therefore to the great essential of human welfare, moral culture.

It is possible to conceive man so constituted as to produce every thing necessary for his sustenance by his individual labour, without being compelled to make

* It is of importance to bear in mind the distinction between national and individual wealth, so often confounded by loose reasoners on this subject. The immense difference between the two cases is stated with great force and clearness in Archbishop Whately’s Second Lecture on Political Economy, from which a great part of the reasoning in this section is borrowed.

† Dewey’s Moral Views, 49.

exchanges with his fellows. He might have been like the lilies of the field, that toil not, neither do they spin, and yet are arrayed more gorgeously than Solomon in all his glory; he might have been covered by nature like the birds of the air, or the beasts of the field, and like them he might have been freed from the necessity of dressing his food. But this is not the case; man is essentially an exchanging animal, and arguing from the analogies of nature, the impulse to exchange must serve some moral purpose.

It is not difficult to discover that purpose; for what is trade? "It is the constant adjustment of the claims of different parties, a man's self being one of the parties."* The merchant and trader every hour is called upon to adjust the competition between rights and interests. And this competition is to be adjusted by no definite rule, and very often by no definite suggestion of conscience. Questions daily arise in commerce which may be decided without offending against any precept of honesty, or any assignable principle of rectitude, which would yet lead to violations of all uprightness. Conscience is the law of business, and hence the earliest commercial nations placed trade under the sanction of religion. Among all the nations of antiquity, we cannot find a single great commercial mart which was not also celebrated as the shrine and sanctuary of some great deity.† It was felt that there

* Dewey's *Moral Views*, 51.

† "There is," says Dr. Dewey, "a temple in one of the cities of Europe, through which is the very passage to the market-place, and those who pass there often rest their burthens, to turn aside and kneel at the altar of prayer. So were it meet that all men should enter on their daily business. The temple of Mammon should be the temple

was constant calls for the exercise of uprightness, candour and good-will, but it was also known that these qualities derived additional strength from every occasion for their exercise. Commerce could not long exist without commercial men daily and almost hourly making sacrifices of self-interest to principle; and from its requiring such sacrifices, trade appears to be a part of that moral training devised by Omniscience for the improvement of his creatures. It may, no doubt, be perverted, and frequently is so; but so is every element connected with the probation of humanity. In itself it contains no demoralizing principle; it only corrupts those who are willing to be corrupted.

Commerce is not necessarily demoralizing, nor dishonourable; on the contrary, it has strong tendencies to foster a high principle of rectitude and honour; the existing amount of commercial credit in this country is a remarkable evidence of the amount of commercial virtue, for we know by bitter experience that any great fraud, by whomsoever committed, shakes credit to its very foundation. But many believe, that though commerce is not demoralizing, yet that the wealth produced by commerce may exercise a pernicious and destructive influence, and they quote as evidence the many declarations against the deceitfulness of riches contained in the Holy Scriptures.*

of God. The gates of trade should be as the entrance to the sanctuary of conscience. There is an eye of witnessing and searching scrutiny fixed upon every one of its doings. The presence of that all-seeing One, not confined, as some imagine, to the silent church or the solitary grove;—the presence of God, I think it not too solemn to say, is in every counting-room and warehouse of the crowded mart, and ought to make it holy ground."—*Dewey's Moral Views*, 53.

* This question has been thoroughly examined in all its bearings

In the examination of this argument, or rather this prejudice, it is of importance to observe that the Jews never were a trading people, and that the means by which riches are acquired, and the mode in which they are used, vary with the situation and circumstances of a nation. In Palestine, assuredly, there were not so many honourable paths to fortune open as there are now in England, and the most common, that of farming the taxes, was in its very nature one that exercised a corrupting influence. It armed rapacity with the sword of justice; the publican, whether innocent or guilty, was odious to those from whom he took their earnings, and whom he at the same time compelled to acknowledge the slavery of their nation. At no time is the tax-gatherer a welcome visitor, but when he comes as the instrument of a foreign power, he is viewed with absolute detestation. Such a feeling re-acts upon its object; let society treat any man as an enemy, and he will become the bitter enemy of society; the publican had the scorn of the Jews, and this induced him to earn it. The pursuit of wealth, therefore, may under particular circumstances be far more perilous to virtue at one time than at another; and there can be no doubt that in Palestine, such a pursuit was subject to peculiar conditions of immorality.

It must also be remembered that it is not against riches, but against the use made of them, that the Scriptural denunciations are directed: "Your gold and

by Archbishop Whately, in his Seventh Lecture on Political Economy. The points noticed in the text are only those which are most commonly urged by hasty reasoners. For a complete answer we must refer our readers to the Archbishop's volume.

silver is cankered," says St. James, "and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and eat your flesh as it were fire." It is then the *rust* of riches, the abuse superinduced on them, that corrupts and destroys. The consuming passions which they may engender, not the proper employment of them, constitute the peril to which men are exposed by their possession. This is quite a different thing from national wealth; for riches are comparative: a poor nation, such as Hungary, may have many rich men, and a rich nation, such as Holland, may have very few remarkable for the extent of their possessions. Wealth of itself is an element of happiness, but it may be so appropriated and distributed as to produce great misery.

When we proceed to examine the causes of the decline and fall of the Phœnicians, we find that they misapplied the powers which they derived from commerce. We have seen that a trading individual is daily exposed to temptations, arising from a struggle between his interests and his principles; trading nations are exposed to the like trial, and with a greater chance of fall, for men collectively will perpetrate deeds at which they would individually shudder. The great temptation to a commercial people is monopoly, and though this is demonstrably ruinous to commerce, yet as it seems to present great and immediate profits, there never has been a nation that has not more or less yielded to this system of policy, and established selfishness as a principle of action. The prophet Ezekiel clearly intimates that the Tyrians, in the later ages of their state, had introduced fraud and violence into their commerce: "Thou hast defiled thy sanctuary by the multitude of

thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic; therefore will I bring a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee.”* As in private life, acts of imprudence, and still more of vice, prove more ruinous to the merchant and trader than to the landholder or the workman, so we may find that national crimes prove more directly ruinous to commercial states than to any others. Extensive commerce involves extensive responsibility; fortunate is that commercial people which feels the sanctity of the trust reposed in it, which is sensible that trade is an instrument placed in its hands by Providence, for nobler purposes than promoting the wealth of nations; that it is one of the means designed to promote universally “Peace on earth, good-will towards men.” But if such a nation prove faithless to its trust and blind to its destiny—if it wields its mighty powers to crush the energies, the industry, and the intelligence both of aliens and dependents—if it seeks unhallowed gains regardless of means; the age of its prosperity is dated, and the barren rock where Tyre once stood is at once the type and the warning of its fate.

Though the Carthaginian system of civilization was directly derived from that of Tyre, it was developed under circumstances which produced marked differences in the policy and fortunes of the two states. The colony of a free people generally exhibits greater freedom than the parent state; the transplanted institutions are delivered from the limitations which antiquity and precedent had brought round them, and necessarily

* Ezekiel xxviii. 18.

receive greater extension and wider application. In the early struggles of a colony there is a greater feeling of equality among the members, and a stronger spirit of freedom, than in a settled state. Every man's pride is nurtured by his feelings of conscious superiority over the barbarous race near which, or amid which, he is settled; and while fear of the aborigines produces community and union, this pride keeps alive the feelings of individual independence. In Carthage, the supreme power was more restricted than in Tyre; the senate possessed greater authority, and the commons were a recognised body in the state.

Carthage did not become remarkable in history until it had "touched the highest point of all its greatness," and made the fatal change in its policy which led to its ruin. At first the Carthaginians sought only commercial intercourse with the surrounding nations; but in order to prevent the rivalry of the Greek colonies, they began to aim at territorial aggrandizement, and they particularly courted the possession of Sicily and the islands in the western Mediterranean. Hence arose the necessity for employing mercenary troops, not only during war, but as garrisons in time of peace; and hence also came the ambition of military chiefs to become dictators in the republic. "A Carthaginian army," says Heeren, "would have been a more interesting spectacle for one who desired to study the human species than for any information it afforded respecting military tactics. It was an assemblage of the most opposite races of the human species, from the farthest parts of the globe. Hordes of half-naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberians, and

savage Ligurians next to the far-travelled Nasamones and Lotophagi; Carthaginians and Phœnici-Africans occupied the centre; while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the Desert, swarmed around upon unsaddled horses, and composed the wings; the van was composed of Balearic slingers; and a line of colossal elephants, with their Ethiopian guides, formed, as it were, a chain of moving fortresses before the whole army. . . . Almost half Africa and Europe were in the pay of this rich republic.”*

The advantages of such a system are few: the chief was, that foreign defeats scarcely inflicted any injury on Carthage beyond pecuniary loss. Two remarkable incidents shew that the lives of the mercenaries were lightly esteemed by the republic; a band of them which had begun to mutiny was unscrupulously left on one of the Lipari islands to perish by famine, and when Hamilcar was forced to enter into a treaty, he only stipulated for the lives of the Carthaginian citizens, and abandoned the rest of his forces to their fate. But there was just as little real attachment on the part of the mercenaries towards the republic. They were faithful so long as they could get better pay nowhere else, and not a moment longer. Carthage was more than once in danger of destruction from the mutinous mercenaries when their pay was in arrear.

It was no easy matter to collect such an army; it was difficult to manage it when assembled, for the great diversity of languages was a constant source of confusion; and when the services of the soldiers were no longer required, it was found a perilous experiment to

* Heeren's *African Nations*, i. 251.

dismiss them. When the Carthaginians resolved to have provinces instead of factories, and garrisons instead of colonies, it was necessary to have a large force to keep possession of the conquered lands. But the military occupation of a country is very expensive, and it often happens that the revenues of a province will not defray the expenses of its garrisons. The Carthaginian possessions in Sicily never paid the cost of their occupation, much less of their conquest. Countries held by the tenure of military occupation are always misgoverned; and those belonging to a commercial state are generally the worst treated of all, for they are regarded as a kind of commodities from which the owners have a right to derive the greatest possible profit. The history of every East India Company that has had possessions beyond the Cape, but more particularly that of the Dutch, shews how systematically the rights of the natives are sacrificed to the thirst for gain by merchant-princes. The constitutional freedom enjoyed by the Carthaginians themselves, was far from teaching them a regard for the rights and privileges of others; it was long ago remarked, that where the free man was the greatest of freemen, the slave was the greatest of slaves. In the United States, at the present hour, slavery is advocated most strenuously by those who support the very extreme of democratic opinions. The provincials were therefore always disaffected to the Carthaginians, and the state scarcely ever suffered any severe disaster abroad that was not immediately aggravated by revolt at home. From the time that a nation of merchants becomes a nation of princes, and exchanges commercial pursuits for territorial possessions, it aban-

dons its proper strength for alien weakness, and fixes the limits of its own duration.

Military chiefs in a commercial state are always dangerous to its liberties: the constitution of Carthage was frequently on the point of being overthrown by its generals; it was for this reason that the centumvirate was instituted—a council consisting of one hundred men, the business of which was to superintend the conduct of the generals, and place a check to their ambition. But this institution could not remedy the evil; for to the very end of the republic, a successful warrior might engross the entire authority of the state, by procuring an accumulation of offices in his own person.

A general may assume illegal and even tyrannical power without formally taking the title of monarch. Hamilcar Barca, after having subdued a rebellion in Africa, led his army into Spain without waiting for authority or permission, and by his acquisitions in that country, the Peru of the ancient world, obtained sufficient influence to undermine the constitution without formally overthrowing it. His bribes, which the treasures of Spain amply supplied, enabled him to procure the support of a strong faction among the people and in the senate, while his conquests gratified the passion for territorial acquisitions which was then popular among the Carthaginians. His son-in-law, Aschubal, continued the same course of policy; and when, on his death, an attempt was made to bring to trial those who had taken bribes from Hamilcar and Aschubal, Hannibal, the son of the former, precipitated the war against Rome, to divert public attention from the inquiry.

During the whole of the second Punic war, a strong party in the Carthaginian senate deprecated the continuance of hostilities, and looked upon the victories at the Ticinus, Thrasymen  and Cann  as barren triumphs. The difference between the two parties in the contest is very striking: Rome was not in danger, though Hannibal remained several years in Italy; Carthage was in imminent peril, the very moment that Scipio effected a landing in Africa: repeated defeats did not force the Romans to submission; the single overthrow at Zama compelled the Carthaginians to yield almost at discretion. It is therefore not quite just to regard the motives of those who opposed Hannibal, as purely selfish and factious; they felt that wars on land and conquests of provinces were unsuited to a commercial people, and the event proved that they were right in their opinions.

A manifest injury arising from these territorial conquests and victories on land, was, that maritime affairs were neglected. We can trace the gradual decline of Carthage as a naval power from the time that an attempt was made to effect the conquest of Sicily. Ever afterwards the army was regarded as of more importance than the navy; and no stronger proof can be given of the neglect of the maritime forces of the republic, than that Scipio transported his army into Africa without meeting a single vessel of war to interrupt his progress.

The spirit of party and faction scarcely appeared in Carthage until after the republic had yielded to the heat of conquest and the passion for territorial aggrandizement—soldiers and merchants are not very harmonious elements in a state: the war which the former

desires as his only chance of rising in the world, is fatal to the commerce of the latter; it closes markets against his commodities, and it subjects trade to the heavy pressure of taxation. The wealthy aristocracy of Carthage opposed the war with Rome, but the wealth which the Barcine family acquired in Spain enabled them to overcome all opposition. Still the strength of Carthage in the war depended merely on its mercenaries and its money—it was founded on sand and gold-dust; when the tide of fortune turned, both were swept away.

The fate of Carthage was sealed at the close of the second Punic war: the commerce which the citizens had abandoned for the possession of provinces and the barren laurels of military triumph, never returned to its former channels; the provincials whom they had oppressed during the era of their greatness, sought revenge in their destruction; and the mercenaries no longer receiving pay, abandoned them to their fate.

Never did any country more fatally exhibit the ruinous and demoralizing influence of an ambitious and military spirit in a trading community; never did any nation shew so forcibly, that when injustice mingles with commerce, the process of destruction is begun, and every hour of its progress accelerates its velocity.

There were some demoralizing influences in the social and domestic relations of the Carthaginians, which appear to have been aggravated by their foreign wars. Their religion allowed the horrid rites of Moloch; they attempted to propitiate their deities by human sacrifices, and they multiplied these victims when the results of a campaign were dangerous or doubtful. Tertullian assures us, that this horrid practice was not abandoned

until long after the conquest of Africa by the Romans, and he dwells particularly on the great extent to which the sacrifice of infants was carried. He assures us that mothers made it a merit to view their own offspring perish in the devouring flames without testifying any emotion, and that they hushed the cries of the innocent victims by kisses and embraces, lest the expected favour of the divinities should be withdrawn in consequence of any appearance of reluctance or regret.

We have already mentioned the perils attending the relations between the sexes in commercial communities. The Babylonian women prostituted themselves to strangers in the temple of Mylitta; the Phœnician women did the same in the temple of Ashtaroth, or Astarte, at Byblus; and a like system was established in the temple of Venus, at Carthage. To this ostentatious disregard of female honour, we may fairly attribute the frequency of infanticide. Every thing that has the slightest tendency to encourage promiscuous intercourse, or to diminish the sanctity of the marriage bond, is a direct incentive to child-murder. In our own days, some among those who call themselves Socialists, have advocated a removal of the restrictions which society has imposed on the commerce of the sexes, because these restrictions may in some instances become onerous and painful. It would be well to ask these gentlemen, whether infanticide is not a greater evil than any of those which they propose to remove? If they deny that their principles have any such tendency, let an appeal be made to the pamphlets published by their own booksellers, and in the name of their own apostles, in which something very like infanticide is

directly recommended. It is unnecessary to dwell on a subject so painful, or to mention the evils which these pernicious doctrines have wrought within the sphere of our own experience. A philosophic blockhead is the most incurable of all blockheads; and Robert Owen was not the first, nor will he be the last, who undesignedly has made his philosophy an excuse for rascality.

We have seen that commerce is a moral dispensation, and that its highest ends are moral; but we have also seen that the dispensation may be perverted, and the end deliberately put out of sight. The history of the two great communities which we have examined, proves that commerce did not exert any corrupting influence until it had been itself designedly corrupted. We have not disguised the fact, that the temptations which beset commerce are greater than those in any other pursuit; but so much nobler is the reward, and so much greater is the virtue, when they are overcome.

"There is no being in the world," says Dr. Dewey, "for whom I feel a higher moral respect and admiration, than for the upright man of business: no, not for the philanthropist, the missionary, or the martyr. I feel that I could more easily be a martyr, than a man of that lofty moral uprightness. And let me say, yet more distinctly, that it is not for the generous man that I feel this kind of respect—generosity seems to me a lower quality, a mere impulse, compared with the lofty virtue I speak of. It is not for the man who distributes extensive charities, who bestows magnificent donations. That may be all very well—I speak not to disparage it—I wish there were more of it; and yet it may all consist with a want of the true lofty unbending

uprightness. That is not the man then of whom I speak; but it is he who stands, amidst all the swaying interests, and perilous exigences of trade, firm, calm, disinterested, and upright. It is the man who can see another man's interests just as well as his own. It is the man whose mind his own advantage does not blind nor cloud for an instant; who could sit a judge upon a question between himself and his neighbour, just as safely as the purest magistrate upon the bench of justice. Ah! how much richer than ermine—how far nobler than the train of magisterial authority—how more awful than the guarded bench of majesty, is that simple, magnanimous, and majestic truth! Yes, it is the man who is true—true to himself, his neighbour, and his God—true to the right—true to his conscience—and who feels that the slightest suggestion of that conscience is more to him than the chance of acquiring a hundred estates."

This is no fancy-portrait, no ideal character: thank God, the writer has the privilege of knowing many such among our merchants, manufacturers, and traders; and it is for this reason that he can view with satisfaction the commercial prosperity of Britain, without fearing for his country the fate of Tyre and Carthage.

CHAPTER V.

GRECIAN CIVILIZATION.

No fact in the history of civilization is more striking, and none more difficult to be completely explained, than the immense superiority of Europe over the other quarters of the globe. In the multitude, variety, and beauty of their natural productions, Asia and Africa far surpass Europe; and the spontaneous harvests of America, though not so rich as the others, are still without a rival between the Uralian chain and the Atlantic. No groves of native spices; no natural orchards laden with rich fruit; no fields of self-sown maize; no uncultivated aromatic herbs, are produced in our division of the earth :

MAN is the nobler growth our realms supply,
And SOULS are ripened in our Northern sky.

In every thing which man invents, shapes, or fashions; in the exertions of the mind, and in the cunning of the hand, Europe is, and, since the earliest age of positive history, has been, as far beyond Asia, as it is below that region in natural fertility and beauty. Domestic life in Europe is based on the sanctity of marriage, and on the union of two persons. Nowhere in ancient or modern Europe has prostitution been legalized, or polygamy been sanctioned by positive law. Even among the Turks, an Asiatic horde who have only "encamped in Europe," the contact with the original

nations has greatly weakened those elements of barbarism, and imposed restrictions, which, to the mass of the people, act as a prohibition. Slavery existed in Europe as it does in Asia; but from the remotest ages Europeans have been found who protested against its injustice, and in European codes of law it has been tolerated rather than sanctioned. We may find in Asia, and even in Africa, some traces of efforts made to frame constitutions, and establish jural relations between the government, society, and individuals; but in Europe alone did the germ of political freedom unfold itself, strike its roots deep, and extend its branches wide. To Asia we are indebted for the rudiments of mechanical art; perhaps also for the suggestions of the higher inventions—the art of printing, the use of gunpowder, and the mariner's compass; but the development of these arts, the perfecting of these inventions, belong exclusively to Europeans. Compare the best spindles and looms of the Hindoos with the machinery of a Manchester mill; contrast a Chinese Gazette with the Times* or the Morning Chronicle; and observe the difference between a Chinese junk and a steam-packet, or a British man-of-war. In the fine arts, in literature, in science, and in philosophy, the superiority of Europe is still more decisive: no one ever dreamed of comparing

* While writing this sentence the author has got from the news-agent the singular phenomenon of a quadruple Times. Size is not the only wonder: the variety of talent displayed in the articles, the immense mass of information accumulated and digested, the extraordinary skill, combined with the exquisite simplicity of the arrangement, render this production almost a miracle of art and intellect. It is, however, perplexing to receive as a daily paper what would seemingly take a week to read.

Asiatic statuary with the sculpture of Chantrey or Canova; the Hindoo epics with the works of Homer or Milton; or the speculations of Eastern sages with the writings of Locke and Bacon. Europe derived the elements of civilization from the East, but now the most consoling prospect for humanity is, that Asia will abandon its ancient systems, and receive the civilization of Europe.

It is obvious that this superiority is the result, not of natural advantages, not of physical force, but of intelligence alone. The question then arises—What caused this great intellectual superiority? and to this it is not easy to give a satisfactory answer. The fact itself is so extensive and so complicated, that its causes are likely to be many and various. One cause, however, seems too prominent to be omitted—it is, that when Nature denied to Europe a soil rich in spontaneous productions, she gave fields that invited to tillage, and rewarded the labours of cultivation.

Greece was undoubtedly the first European country in which civilization acquired such strength as to form a system. The early traditions of the Greeks unanimously ascribe the introduction of the first elements of improvement to Asiatic colonies; and though these traditions have been impugned by modern scepticisms, they are too consistent with each other, and with the best authenticated facts of history, to be rejected for the sake of conjecture and hypothesis. The Greeks assert that they derived the use of letters from the Phœnician Cadmus, and the names of these letters attest their eastern origin. They tell us that the institution of marriage was introduced by the Egyptian

Cecrops ; and Pelops of Lydia, effected such a revolution in the Apian land, as to give his name to the entire peninsula. But anterior to these, there was an immigration of even greater importance, the remembrance of which is vaguely preserved in mythology—a colony from some unknown region taught the art of agriculture. The Eleusinian mysteries, unquestionably derived from the oldest forms of the Grecian religion, shew what great importance was justly attributed to the introduction of the Cerealia. It is remarkable that the same tradition which described the goddess Ceres as the inventor of tillage, also represented her as the author of law ; thus Ovid :

First Ceres taught the labouring hind to plough
The pregnant earth, and quickening seed to sow.
She first for man did wholesome food provide,
And with just laws the wicked world supplied :
All good from her's derived, to her belong
The grateful tribute of the Muse's song ;
Her more than worthy of our verse we deem,
O, were our verse more worthy of the theme !*

It is not necessary to inquire whether Ceres was a mere personification, or a deified individual;† the legend shews that the unvarying tradition of the Greeks connected the origin of civil society with the first cultivation of corn, and further that they attributed both to an external source. We have seen in a former chapter that the Egyptians held agriculture in the highest honour ; and if any credit can be given to the authority of Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus, Isis was worshipped in

* Garth's Translation, Book v.

† The name is most probably derived from the Hebrew word *Gereah*, which, in the Semitic languages, signifies "an ear of corn."

Egypt with the same ceremonies, and for the same reasons, that Ceres was venerated in Greece.

If we can suppose two races of men to start with the same stock of civilization, of which one should cultivate the earth, while the other lived on its spontaneous produce, whether animal or vegetable, it is easy to see that the former must make a great advance, and that the latter may become stationary, or even retrograde. The notion of property must be early developed among an agricultural people; the division of the soil is rendered necessary, and the cultivation of other branches of industry connected with tillage, is immediately suggested. The fact that natural productions become so altered by cultivation as to lose their original characteristics, is an incentive both to industry and ingenuity. We do not know what was the original type of wheat, oats, or barley; but we may reasonably conjecture from this very ignorance, that the Cerealia in their wild state were not well suited to human sustenance. It is, however, clear, that to produce the alteration, and still more to perpetuate it, required continued exercise of skill and industry.

Europe is throughout, save where local obstacles interfere, susceptible of agriculture; and it is not for the most part suited to the chase or pasturage. Its inhabitants could not become nomade: Nature herself forced them to adopt those habits of regular industry which are the basis of all social improvement and all social happiness. To this cause, as one out of many, may the moral superiority of Europeans over Asiatics be in a great degree attributed.

Greece, both from its vicinity to the civilized countries

of Asia, and from the advantages of its geographical position, seemed designed by nature to become the cradle of European civilization. Sufficiently fertile to reward toil, it was not so prolific as to support idleness. Varied in its character, it did not stimulate its inhabitants to one branch of industry alone, it invited the cultivation of all. One district was best suited to produce wine, another oil, and a third corn: Arcadia supplied pasturage for cattle; Thessaly was proud of its horses; the coast, indented with numerous bays and harbours, afforded every facility to navigation and commerce: Greece was not exclusively agricultural, pastoral, or commercial, but it was all three together. The very nature of the country not only invited to industry, but immediately suggested the exchange of commodities. In the Asiatic nations, we have seen that a principle of exclusiveness is very prominent in all their institutions: the Egyptian agriculturists were excluded from commerce, the Tyrian merchants never cultivated the soil, and sedentary pursuits were odious to the Persian nomades. But in Greece such exclusiveness was impracticable, and the variety of pursuits in active life rendered it necessary to acquire many kinds of knowledge, and thus laid a broad basis for farther improvement.

We have seen in a former chapter, that the Grecian religion differed from that of the Asiatics, in attributing human forms and features to its deities, and noticed the great influence of the change in engaging human affections on the side of devotion. The alteration is ascribed by Herodotus to the epic poets in the following remarkable words: — “ Whence each of the gods is

descended, whether they have always existed, and what were their shapes, all this the Greeks have but recently known. Hesiod and Homer, whom I do not esteem more than four hundred years earlier than myself, are the poets who invented for the Greeks their theogony; gave the gods their titles, fixed their ranks and occupations, and described their forms. The poets who are said to have flourished before these, lived, as I believe, after them."

This assertion does not necessarily imply that Homer created the popular belief, but rather that he gave a poetic form to existing legends, and reduced the vague traditions of the nation to something like a system. There still remains, therefore, a difficult question: how did it happen that these traditions admitted of such a form as they received from Homer; in other words, how were the Greeks prepared to receive a religion, which, unlike the other existing systems of Paganism, rested mainly on the sympathy between deity and humanity? Why were the gods of the Greeks, friends to be won, while those of the Asiatics were enemies to be propitiated? Many causes seem to have contributed to this result, and not the least was the geographical position of Greece. The country was separated and cut in pieces by so many natural divisions that it was not easy for one district to obtain supremacy over the rest, and hence nothing like Asiatic despotism could ever be established in its precincts. Chiefs and heroes were revered, but there never was a monarch to be adored. It is a matter of dispute whether the deification of mortals, or the personification of physical powers, was the first form of idolatry; but there is no doubt that

both were very soon combined: oriental flattery not only compared the sovereign to the sun, but, as in the case of the Pharaohs and Cyrus, gave him the name of that luminary. Greece had heroes who merited canonization for merits both in peace and war; there were some who introduced useful arts of life, taught how to cultivate the vine or the olive, and to domesticate the horse; there were others who delivered the sea from pirates and the land from robbers, and deification was ceded to them more justly than to the Asiatic conqueror of empires.

The limited sphere of his operations brought the Grecian hero into immediate contact with the people; the Orientals heard of the glorious triumphs of their sovereign, the Greeks saw and felt the benefits conferred by an heroic chieftain. The feeling produced by such familiarity in life, extended itself beyond the grave—personal affection and gratitude entered into the worship of deified heroes; their very failings, which were not forgotten in tradition, brought them closer to humanity, and increased the feelings of companionship. Horace, in a well-known compliment to Augustus, mentions the benefits for which heroes were raised to the rank of gods:

Rome's founder, Leda's twins, the god of wine,
Were for their virtues raised to power divine;
While they with pious care improved mankind,
To various states their proper bounds assign'd;
Commanded war's destroying rage to cease,
And bless'd their cities with the arts of peace.*

If then we suppose that the Grecian system of idolatry, like that of all other ancient nations, was partly a

* Horace, *Epistles*, ii. 2.

personification of natural powers, and partly a deification of heroes, the change, effected by Homer, was, that he attached himself almost exclusively to the latter element, which was the best suited to the purposes of poetry, and probably the most in accordance with the popular inclinations.

It would lead us too far into learned disquisition, were we to investigate the probability of some religious change having been effected by the political revolution which was accomplished when the Hellenic race triumphed over the Pelasgic, as seems to be intimated in the legend of the war between the gods and the Titans; it is of more importance to note another peculiarity in the Grecian creed, namely, that human frailties, as well as human feelings, were attributed to the gods.* The Greeks did not exhibit their divinities as models of virtue, and they thus lost the greatest advantage that could have been derived from investing them with the attributes of humanity. Faults and crimes were ascribed to the objects of worship; and though these produced no great effect as misleading examples—for the stones were even by the vulgar regarded as poetical fictions—yet the effect of a guiding example was wanting; and in no respect does Christianity so transcendently surpass every system of religion devised by human reason, than in its combining the two great objects to which we have alluded—bringing the Divine attributes down to the level of human capacity, and raising man,

* "The religion of the Greeks," says Barthelemy, "was a confused mixture of truths and falsehoods, of venerable traditions and agreeable fictions; a system that flattered the senses and offended the understanding, which breathed only pleasure, while it taught and applauded virtue."—*Travels of Anacharsis*, vol. i. 183.

by the influence of a divine example, to aim at super-human excellence.

"We may proceed with due reverence," says Archbishop Whately, "to inquire for what purpose we are taught by Scripture to believe in the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, and to regard *that* as a manifestation of God to his creatures. We shall find good reason for concluding, that it was designed, in part at least, for the purpose of leading men both to piety and morality, by a method admirably suited to the purpose, and which is absolutely peculiar to Christianity: viz. by first bringing down to the level of our capacity the moral attributes of the Deity, and thus better engaging our affections on the side of devotion; and secondly, by exhibiting a perfect and exalted model of human excellence. Both these objects are effected by the mysterious union of the divine and human natures: the divine *Word was made flesh*, to lead us to affectionate piety; and *the manhood was taken into God*, to teach us godlike virtue."*

But the Grecian belief in the frailty of the deities necessarily suggested the notion of their flexibility and good-nature. They were supposed to be won by the same entreaties that would prevail upon a friend, and conciliated by the same gifts that would please a companion. Homer frequently refers to this attribute, and contrasts it with the sternness of the infernal deities:

Pluto, the grisly god who never spares,
Who knows no mercy, and who hears no prayers,
Lives dark and dreadful in deep hell's abodes,
And men detest him as the worst of gods.†

* Whately on the Peculiarities. Essay ii. 157.

† Iliad, ix.

From the time that these feelings mingled with the religion of Greece, human sacrifices were at an end, and their worship assumed that mild and joyous form which rendered the religious festivals so indescribably dear to the people.

The notions of a future state, and of retribution for the actions of this life in another form of existence, were vague and indistinct amongst the Greeks, but they were still influential on life and conduct. "If," says Mr. Mitchell, "the hand of an interpolator has been busy with the following fragment, still it no doubt speaks the feelings of the wiser and better minds of antiquity:"

Think not, Niceratus, that they
 Whose life has been one holiday of revel,
 Die to compound them with the senseless clod,
 Safe, and for ever, from the gaze of heaven.
 No, no; there is an Eye (and justice claims it)
 Whose scrutinizing ken nought may elude.
 Death hath its double path: this for the good,
 That for the base to tread. Were it not so,
 But one event came uniform to both.
 "Up and be doing," I would bid thee; "pluck from
 Curb'd knavery, the muzzle of restraint;
 Filch, plunder, steal; or, pettier gains forsworn,
 Betake thee to the agitator's trade,
 And reap the harvest of a wholesale guilt."
 Be not deceived: death hath its solemn courts,
 Where he presides—whose name—holy and fearful—
 Seals and shuts close the mouth of guarded reverence;
 And life, though running to extremest verge,
 Is but a larger date allowed the criminal
 To meet that day of awful retribution.

*Fragments of Philemon.**

But this important article of religious faith was not

* Mitchell's *Acharnenses*, p. 151.

so positive in the Grecian mind as to become by itself a motive for action: it always had the mistiness and uncertainty of its poetic origin around it; and we may fairly describe the influence of the doctrine of the soul's immortality in Greece, as of great value in cheering the good, but of little force in deterring the evil.

From what we have said, it is evident that poetry had a considerable share in moulding and forming the Grecian mind, and we are not therefore surprised to find that poetry began to be regarded as an affair of state. Legislators and monarchs laid claim to celebrity for having preserved the poems of Homer; kings and states sought to have their names immortalized by the lyric bards; and the Athenians so revered the drama, that they would not allow the theatrical fund to be touched for purposes of national defence. In Grecian civilization there arose from the influence of poetry, and from eloquence, which may be regarded as the daughter of poetry, a disproportion between the power exercised by the imagination and the judgment: the former prompted to enjoyment and inspired hopes, when the latter demanded sacrifices and suggested fears; a cooler people than the Greeks would not have credited the piety of Philip when he undertook the Social war, and would have disbelieved the generosity of the Romans when they proclaimed the independence of the states at the Olympic games.

If within the geographical limits of Greece we may find almost every variety of soil and climate, so in its history we may discover almost every form of civil government, except perhaps the representative. In all these varieties, however, we find one common and erro-

neous principle; namely, that an individual has rights only so far as he is a member of the state. The simple question in all their revolutions was, "who shall govern?" not "within what limits shall governing power be exercised?" Aristotle says that the political constitutions of Greece had been established in the following order:—"Monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, tyranny, democracy;" but in all of these it was received as an axiom, that the supreme power, wherever lodged, was absolute; in short, every constitution, whatever might be its internal form, was despotic over those by or for whom it was created. In modern times, publicists deny the power of a nation to resign the rights of those who compose it; no one believes that the British constitution could be abolished by act of parliament.

This exclusive attention to the power of the state, and the neglect of what may be called the natural rights of man, appears to have arisen from the small size of the Grecian communities. These were for the most part cities with their adjacent districts, so that the ideas of state and city were designated by the same name. The experience of all municipalities, ancient and modern, shews that there is a tendency in corporations to sacrifice individual rights to the interests of the corporate body; and this tendency is not much altered by the nature of the constitution of that body: it is manifest both in close and in open corporations; and hence Lord Coke whimsically remarked, that "Corporations are without souls." In consequence of this principle the form of the constitution was of infinitely more importance in Greece than it can possibly be in any modern nation; each individual felt that he must either

be a member of the corporate body, or nothing. The struggle between the aristocracy and the democracy was not a contest for freedom, it was at once a battle for power and for constitutional existence. Political freedom not only involved the idea of political power, but was identified with it; and that power was unrestricted, whether it was lodged in the hands of prince, nobles, or people. In examining Grecian politics, it must be remembered that a Greek democracy was a despotism, and that none of its members shrunk from the avowal.

In the ordinary progress of society, the rights of the commons gradually and necessarily acquire strength, whatever may be the nature of the aristocracy opposed to them.* The great crisis in the history of every nation, is the period when the commons demand their constitutional recognition as a body in the state; for though the natural progress of wealth and civilization leads to such a result, yet the process of adjustment is one of great niceness and difficulty—any perturbing causes will inevitably produce collision.

In Greece, the old aristocratical monarchies were at first succeeded by despotisms in most of the states; but their rule was of short duration, for the tyrant of a single town was easily overthrown. Under favourable circumstances, the ascendancy of wealth, after this brief crisis, naturally and easily took the place of the ascen-

* See Appendix ii. to vol. i. of Arnold's *Thucydides*. I cannot refer to this admirable essay without earnestly recommending its diligent perusal to my readers: it is the best specimen of the Philosophy of History our language affords, and those who make themselves masters of its principles will have obtained a key to the solution of the most perplexing problems in ancient and modern policy.

dency of birth. But at this period anything that retarded or anything that unduly accelerated the revolution was equally to be dreaded. It would not be easy to determine whether a victorious ascendancy or a triumphant populace is most to be dreaded; whether the cold-blooded, systematic cruelty of an irritated oligarchy, or the mad excesses of an infuriate mob, works more mischief to humanity. "Spring," says Dr. Arnold, "is ever a critical period, and the fairest promise of blossom on the healthiest tree may be cut off by one of the sudden frosts or storms so incident to that changeful season. In the political spring also there are peculiar dangers, internal and external, which in too large a proportion of instances have never allowed the blossom to ripen." From a variety of causes, but principally from an original difference of race, perpetuated by institutions, this crisis was accelerated in Athens, and was more fatally retarded in Sparta. The difference between the Ionic and Doric races runs through the whole of Grecian history, and to it may be mainly ascribed the deep-rooted hatred between Athens and Sparta, which eventually led to the ruin of both. It is usual to ascribe their respective peculiarities to original difference of race; but it seems unnecessary to have recourse to incomprehensible mystery, when these results can be traced to obvious circumstances of position.

The Ionians were a mercantile and commercial people; Attica, great part of Eubœa, several of the islands in the Archipelago, several colonies in Sicily and Southern Italy, and far the most flourishing cities on the coast of Asia Minor, were tenanted by that race. The spirit of

naval and commercial enterprise was a powerful counterpoise to the spirit of chivalry which gave strength to the ancient aristocracy, and wealth acquired by trade overbalanced the influences derived from the possession of landed estates. "Well might the aristocracy of Sparta," says Dr. Arnold, "dread the introduction of foreign manners, and complain that intercourse with foreigners would corrupt their citizens and seduce them to forsake the institutions of their fathers. Injustice and ignorance must fail, if the light be fairly let in upon them; evil can only be fully enjoyed by those who have never tasted good. The sea deserved to be hated by the old aristocracies, inasmuch as it has been the mightiest instrument in the civilization of mankind. In the depth of winter, when the sky is covered with clouds, and the land presents one cold, blank, lifeless surface of snow, how refreshing is it to the spirits to walk upon the shore, and to enjoy the eternal freshness and liveliness of ocean! Even so in the deepest winter of the human race, when the earth was but one chilling expanse of inactivity, life was stirring in the waters. There began that spirit, whose genial influence has now reached to the land, has broken the chains of winter, and covered the face of the earth with beauty."*

The Ionian constitutions, from the simple influence of commerce, developed fully the rights of individuals to become component parts of the state, but they did not define the relations of the individual in his character of subject to that state. Having made a citizen a part of the ruling body, no ancient publicist seems to have thought of him in the character of a person

* Arnold's *Thucydides*, vol. i. p. 638.

ruled.* Now, this omission, which we find in all the governments of ancient times, is a decisive proof that "the social compact," — an actual agreement made at some definite period between human beings, who would otherwise run wild and harm each other,—is an utterly gratuitous supposition; for it shews us that ancient states were founded, not on distrust, but on such a degree of confidence, arising from previous experience of society, that individual rights were forgotten, or at least were deemed to be sufficiently secured by perfecting the form of the state.

Absolute power, unchecked by institutions, and immediatised (if such an expression be allowable), is not only liable to abuse, but is most certain to be abused. There is no check to the impulses, to which communities are not less liable than individuals; the legislative and the executive powers are combined; the law and the sentence are pronounced together. "Comparing democratic and monarchic despotism," says Lieber, "we shall find that the latter must needs rest its power somewhere without the monarch himself; for, as has been several times observed, the monarch has personally no more power than the meanest of the crowd. He must be supported by opinion without him; but democratic absolutism is power itself—it is a reality—fear-

* The gigantic mind of Aristotle seems in this, as in many other important matters, to have caught glimpses of a truth not developed in his times. In his *Politics*, book iii., chap. vii., he distinctly shews that states ought to be classed according to the object of their government—the welfare of the whole, or of a part of the community—and not according to the numbers who participate in the administration. In the same passage also he discriminates between justice and equality, by introducing the consideration of individual rights.

fully sweeping power. It is a real power, a torrent which nothing can stem. If an individual opposes monarchical absolutism, there is something heroic in it in the minds of the people ; if a man opposes democratic absolutism, he is at once considered a heretic, a traitor to the commonweal."

A king-people is just as likely to be led astray by base courtiers, as a dominant aristocracy or an absolute monarch. "Demagogues are but courtiers, though the court dress of the one may consist in the soiled handkerchief of a Marat, that of the other in silk and hair-powder." Monarchs have sacrificed their best and bravest subjects to their flatterers ; republics have done the same to their orators.

Athenian history has so often been an arena for the discussion of modern politics, that it was of some importance to shew the inapplicability of the precedent. Enough has been said to prove that absolutism and not freedom, was the vice of the Athenian constitution ; it remains to examine whether this absolutism cannot be traced to the perturbing causes which unnaturally accelerated the transition from the ascendancy of the landed aristocracy to that of the aristocracy of wealth.

The brunt of the Persian invasion fell on Attica ; its fields were wasted, its groves cut down, its city burned to the ground. "Athens existed only in the hearts of its citizens." Common calamity generates feelings of equality more rapidly than common prosperity, for misery is more uniform than happiness ; and the Persians also had reduced the landed proprietors far more than the merchants, because moveable property had been saved by the ships. In Athens, when restored,

the government became at once democratical, for no other form was possible: but the landed aristocracy did not lose the memory of their former greatness; and during the greater part of the following century were willing to purchase the recovery of their ascendancy by sacrificing the independence of their country. Scarcely had the Long Walls been finished, when the aristocratic malcontents invited the Lacedæmonians to invade Attica, but found themselves too weak to attempt a revolt.

When Athens was entrusted with the management of the maritime war against Persia, the power of the democratic party was not less increased than that of the state itself. The sailors in the several fleets did not serve under hereditary chieftains, but under captains appointed by the state, of which they were a part, and hence they could scarcely comprehend the claims to power made by the ancient nobility. The gradual progress of commerce would have absorbed the landed aristocracy, and probably directed its members to seek political power by the acquisition of mercantile wealth; but the more violent operations of a naval war suddenly transferred political power to the democracy, without destroying the aristocracy as a party. The supremacy which Athens received by the voluntary agreement of the allies, was the source of the republic's greatness and splendour; it is not wonderful therefore, that it was retained after the original objects of the confederacy had been gained. There are examples of empire resigned by individuals, but a people has never voluntarily yielded its authority over a subject nation. No war was more popular in the beginning than the first American war, for the meanest peasant in England

believed that he derived dignity from speaking of *our* American colonies.

It cannot be denied that the Athenian democracy abused its absolutism, and that the Athenian state made an unjust use of its supremacy over the allies; and thus viewed, there is some truth in the assertion of Isocrates, that the dominion of the sea was the source of all the misery of Athens and Greece. But it is not fair to confine our views to the abuse: what form of government, or what state, ever effected so much in the same space of time for humanity as Athens and its democracy, during the brief period of their meridian glory? Pericles, Phidias, Polygnotus, Sophocles, Socrates, Plato, Demosthenes, were the children of the democracy; and truly great must the public spirit of that nation have been, which could foster, encourage, and develop the genius capable of achieving their mighty deeds. We do not disguise the abuses, the consequences of which were most fatal to Athens herself, but we protest against making the abuses the sole criterion of our judgment; especially as these abuses mainly resulted from extrinsic causes, of which the demoralizing influence of war was the greatest and the worst.

Democratic absolutism in Athens ran its natural course to anarchy. The antagonizing principle—the Spartan oligarchy—led to still more fatal results. Anarchy at the worst can only be a temporary evil, but the wounds inflicted by selfish tyranny are deep and incurable. The Spartan constitution was an aristocracy of conquest, and the whole aim of its legislation was to maintain the conquering race in its distinct and

exclusive ascendancy. The Dorians, who settled in Laconia, like the Turks in Europe, were an army of occupation; and hence the character of the Spartan institutions was "more suited to a beleaguered garrison than to men united for mutual benefit in civil society." In order to preserve the Spartan race pure, intermarriage with the conquered and enslaved people was strictly forbidden: to maintain the ascendancy of the dominant race, all the labours of the field, and all the toils necessary for the support of life, were thrown upon the descendants of the vanquished. The Spartan was a soldier, and nothing more: he was taught to regard trade as disgraceful, and literature as unmanly; the only pursuits worthy of his care were war and martial exercises. "The Spartans," says Mr. Mitchell, "were a nation of gentlemen." This is true, if the absence of all useful occupation be sufficient to constitute a gentleman; but we deem that something more is wanting to such a character than merely living on the labour of others, and *that* "something more" is not to be found in the history of the Spartans. Patriotism, the virtue most commonly ascribed to them, was that to which they had the best claim, for the Spartans were not a nation, but an oligarchy in a nation; their heroism was exerted for a party, not for a people. Viewed in this light, the disregard of self so often displayed by the Spartan warrior loses much of its merit, for we cannot accord to partizans the honour we bestow on patriots.

"The principle of the ascendancy of noble blood," says Dr. Arnold, "necessarily marks the infancy of mankind; and wherever it has long continued to exist,

it marks a state of infancy unnaturally prolonged by the selfish policy or criminal neglect, of those who ought rather to have gradually trained it up to the independence of manhood." The institutions of Sparta were one and all designed to perpetuate this selfish ascendancy, and no crime of public or private profligacy was prohibited which tended to strengthen the power of the dominant race. While the progress of the Commons was forced forward in Athens, it was still more unnaturally retarded, or rather altogether prevented in Sparta. Two states so circumstanced, when all the surrounding nations were in a state of progressive revolution, could not have avoided a collision, even if they were both disposed for peace. It was a revolutionary era: at one side was a republic, resolved to carry popular power to its farthest extreme; on the other a commonwealth, resolved to maintain the domination of the oligarchy in its most stern rigidity. War in its worst form, a war of principles, became inevitable; it is unnecessary to inquire which party provoked the contest, for both were hurried into it by circumstances beyond their control.

The Peloponnesian war disorganized the whole state of society in Greece; overthrew all sanctions of religion, morality, and natural affection; encouraged an atrocious and unscrupulous party spirit, which identified all virtue with an uncompromising zeal for the interests of its own faction, and openly expressed its abhorrence of impartial justice and enlarged patriotism. Aristophanes bears melancholy testimony to the demoralizing influences of this war in Athens, but in Sparta it was utterly ruinous to every thing that retained

the resemblance of public virtue. The ruin of the Athenian armaments in Sicily gave the victory to Sparta, but the supremacy of such a state rendered the peace more ruinous than the war. Sparta tried to retain her superiority by constituting selfish factions, like the oligarchy of the thirty tyrants, in every city over which she could exercise any influence: thus superadding the tyranny of faction to the bitterness of party-spirit. The third Peloponnesian war followed, and Sparta fell, never to rise again. Literature, science, and philosophy combined to shed a moon-light majesty over fallen Athens, imparting loveliness to her ruins, and embalming her memory by associating it with every thing sublime in conception and beautiful in execution: Sparta left the world nothing but an execrated memory and a dishonoured name.

The Peloponnesian war and the supremacy which Sparta acquired, demoralized Greece, chiefly by producing a spirit of party and faction more violent than perhaps ever existed before or since. The people was not less a faction than the oligarchy, and hence Aristotle was justified in classing absolute democracy among those states in which the government consults the influence of the few, not of the whole. It needs not to search very deep into history to find, that the spirit of faction once set loose, rapidly effects the ruin of states: Jerusalem, Constantinople, Venice, attest its pernicious influence not less than the cities of Greece.

An important consequence of the revolutionary war in Greece, for such the Peloponnesian contest was, has not received all the attention which it seems to merit; we mean, the decline of the national religion and its

gradual profanation. The Spartans, early in the war, set the example of disregarding the oracle of Delphi. Their seizure of the Cadmeia, or citadel of Thebes, in the midst of peace, was not less a violation of the national religion than a breach of national law; and finally, their secret encouragement of the Phocians to plunder the Delphic treasury, was the immediate cause of the ruin of Greece. But it would be useless to deny that the speculations of the Athenian philosophers effected more to weaken the devotional feelings of the Greeks, than the ostentatious impiety of the Spartans. A nation with a poetic religion must either abstain from philosophical speculation, or learn from philosophy that its religion is unfounded. This is particularly the case where religion is not connected with the state, or where the connexion between them is purely a voluntary association. There are, then, no authorized defenders of the national creed; and if accusations of impiety, as in the case of Socrates, are brought before a public tribunal, the accusers will be found to be more frequently actuated by personal motives than by respect for religion.

The license assumed by the comic poets must have weakened the national faith. No one who had enjoyed the ludicrous pictures of Hercules in the comedy of the Bird, or Bacchus in that of the Frogs, could ever afterwards think of those deities with reverence. But it is probable that the comedy of the Clouds, though designed to crush the asserted impiety of Socrates and his followers, really inflicted a severe injury on religion, by giving circulation and currency to blasphemies which would otherwise have been confined to the schools.

The Phocian war, which consummated the ruin that

the Peloponnesian wars had commenced, affords melancholy proof of the extent to which profanation had gradually arrived in Greece. The Spartans, as we have seen, were accessories before the fact to the plunder of the temple of Delphi, the Athenians and Corinthians became subsequently the allies of the sacrilegious Phocians. It is no doubt true, that the Thebans and Thessalians, in their first attack on the Phocians, used religion as a mere pretext to hide private malice; but the profanation of Delphi was an outrage to the national religion which would not have found defenders, if the religion itself had not previously sunk into neglect and decay.

The treasures stolen from Delphi, thrown suddenly into circulation, disorganized the currency in all the Grecian states; but it wrought a more fatal change, by rendering the employment of mercenary troops almost universal—a custom not less fatal to morality than it was to valour and patriotism. No states rested so much on morals as the Grecian, for none were more completely self-governed, both in legislation and administration. Private life was identified with public, law entered into every part of social and domestic existence. Hence moral corruption at once produced political degradation and anarchy. Two causes chiefly produced this demoralization,—war, and the spirit of faction, which, if not engendered, was fearfully aggravated by war. It was because he witnessed the growing corruption produced by war, that Aristophanes so strenuously recommended peace to his countrymen; but his exertions were vain; the war continued, until the fearful conception which he had placed before the eyes of his

countrymen—the demon of war pounding cities and states to atoms in a mortar,* was realized to its utmost

* This extraordinary passage is rendered lyrically by Mitchell. A specimen of the scene will explain its nature to the general reader.

SCENE—HEAVEN.

A great bowl, or mortar, is seen on the stage; leeks, garlic, and cheese—as emblems of Prasiæ, Megara, and Sicily, menaced with ruin by the course of the war—lie around it.

WAR—*slowly and solemnly.*

Laceration,
Maceration,
Grief and scorning,
Woe and mourning,
Past all curing;
I do scan,
Unto man,
The much enduring.
Aches and pains,
Rack his joints
And fire his brains.

TRYGÆUS.

Shield me, great Phœbus, 'tis indeed a mortar
Vast beyond vastness!—then this monster's visage!
Pain, mischief, misery, are upon his front.
And do my eyes indeed take witness of him,
The god whose very sight creates a solitude!
The truculent, the iron-faced, still settling
Upon his legs, as if for fight preparing.

WAR.

Double, double,
Woe and trouble,
Triple trine
And nine to nine,
Nine and ten,
And nine again,
I do see
For Prasiæ.
Hapless state!

See now thy doom is seal'd, and ratified thy fate.

extent, and Grecian glory was ended because Grecian virtue was no more.

But in this general ruin everything did not perish : the hope of regeneration was never wholly lost in Greece ; and though trampled down by the Macedonians, yet a noble effort was made by the Achæan league, and thus "the splendid noon" of the greatness of Greece was followed by a still more splendid evening. Intellectual preeminence remained after political supremacy was destroyed ; and Greece, though vanquished, won the respect and obtained the homage of her conquerors. Thus indestructible are the triumphs of mind, thus enduring the glory of having advanced civilization :

Like the vase in which roses have once been distill'd,
You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will,
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still.

CHAPTER VI.

ROMAN CIVILIZATION.

FROM the very imperfect records of the early history of Rome, it is scarcely possible to obtain a plausible account of the real origin of the state and city. It is, however, probable that the Roman, like the Spartan constitution, was primarily based on an aristocracy of conquest; and it is certain that it very early had assumed such a form, though not quite so rigidly and exclusively as the Spartan system. The Dorians, who conquered Laconia, were a single people; the military adventurers who established themselves on the banks of the Tiber, were a mixture of several races, like those who accompanied the Norman conqueror when he invaded England. In the Roman language two elements are very distinguishable; that is, a substratum of Greek, to which belong the grammatical inflections, the terms relating to agriculture and domestic life, and what we may generally call, the staple of the language: intermingled with this is the Oscan, to which belong most of the terms relating to arms, war, rule, and conquest. Hence it may reasonably be inferred that the Latins were a mixed people, arising from a conquest of the Pelasgians by the Oscans. It may further be inferred that the Pelasgians were the more civilized, and the Oscans the more warlike people; and it is probable that the latter were a race of mountaineers, who were

tempted to conquest by the wealth of those who lived in the plains.* There is no difficulty in the fact that the Oscans soon abandoned their original name; in less than a century after the Norman conquest, the name of Norman had fallen into disuse, though the difference of language still remained, and as Sir Walter Scott has shewn, this difference in our existing mixed tongue still marks the circumstances of the conquest.†

Whether the Sabines, who joined the Romans either when the city was founded, or immediately after, be-

* Virgil describes the aborigines as mountain-tribes civilized by Saturn:—

A race untaught, and bred on mountains wild,
Awed by his wholesome laws, became more mild.

† The passage to which I allude occurs in *Ivanhoe*; and though one of the most humorous in the romance, contains in it a very curious and important philological dissertation.

"Truly, Gurth," said Wamba, "I advise thee to call off Fangs, and leave the herd to their destiny, which, whether they meet with bands of travelling soldiers or of outlaws, or of wandering pilgrims, can be little else than to be converted into Normans before morning, to thy no small ease and comfort."

"The swine turned to Normans to my comfort!" quoth Gurth; "expound that to me, Wamba, for my brain is too dull, and my mind too vexed, to read riddles."

"Why, how call you those grunting brutes running about on four legs?" demanded Wamba.

"Swine, fool, swine," said the herd, "every fool knows that."

"And swine is good Saxon," said the jester; "but how call you the sow when she is flayed, and drawn and quartered, and hung up by the beels like a traitor?"

"Pork," answered the swineherd.

"I am very glad that every fool knows that, too," said Wamba; "and pork, I think, is good Norman-French; and so when the brute lives and is in the charge of a Saxon slave, she goes by her Saxon name; but becomes a Norman, and is called pork, when she is carried to the castle-hall to feast among the nobles."—*Ivanhoe*, vol. i. 14.

longed to the Oscan race or not, is a question we cannot solve; many circumstances render it probable that they did, and particularly the few fragments of the Sabine language which have been preserved. But a third element in the Roman state, belonged to a race alien to the Latin "in language, religion, and blood," and this was obtained from the Etrurians or Tuscans, whose religious institutions and usages made a deep and lasting imprint on those of Rome. But the Tuscans themselves were a mixed people, formed like the Latins from a conquering race of Etruscans and a conquered race of Tyrrhenian Pelasgians; though in their language, from some unknown cause, the Greek element was almost obliterated. It is singular that the Etrurians left no trace of their language in that of Rome, though they so extensively influenced its religious and political institutions; but in a somewhat analogous case, we find the Romish Church giving ecclesiastical constitutions and a body of civil law to the Teutonic nations, without producing any very marked effect on their languages.*

The Roman religion differed from that of Greece in the character of its deities, in the nature of its priesthood, and in the object of its festivals; and as the national religion was among the Romans, during the

* Dr. Arnold's *History of Rome* contains the best, and almost the only satisfactory account of the origin of the Romans that has yet been published in any country. I regret that he has not extended his analysis to the Roman religion, which furnishes abundant evidence of the justness of his views, and opens an almost untouched field for his unrivalled powers of historical criticism. I have availed myself of Benjamin Constant's work on Roman Polytheism, but I have not marked the references, for I have scarcely taken a statement which I did not find it necessary to modify.

greater part of their history, the centre and soul of their system of civilization, it is necessary that we should examine these differences closely and attentively.

"The Romans," says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, "reject from their religion, as fabulous, everything that is indecent or immoral. The tales of Cœlus mutilated by his sons,—of Saturn devouring his offspring,—of Ceres wandering over the earth,—of the rape of Proserpine,—the battles, the wounds, and the intrigues of the gods, have no place in the Roman polytheism. The fictions of this nature, transmitted to us Greeks by our ancestors, and which contain records of scandalous and criminal deeds, were rejected by Romulus as guilty legends. He engaged his subjects to think and speak honourably of the gods, without attributing to them anything inconsistent with their beneficent nature. Hence, everything connected with the worship of gods is transacted in Rome with more piety and circumspection than amongst the Greeks and barbarians."*

The Romans identified their principal deities with those of Greece, but their Jupiter was a being farther remote from humanity than the Grecian Zeus; their Consus, or Neptune, was more the deity that inspired good counsel, than the God who ruled over the waters; and though Læncus was declared to be the same as Hercules, he was honoured more for enforcing the sanctity of oaths than for his accomplishment of the twelve labours. It must also be observed, that this identification of the Grecian with the Roman deities, took place at a late period in the history of the republic, and was altogether the work of the poets, who, abandoning all

* Dion. Halicar. ii. 1.

claims to originality, made it the chief object of their ambition to transfer the beautiful fictions of Greece into Latium.

It would be a serious error to judge of the Roman religion from the Roman poets, as we do of the Greek religion from the Greek poets. Roman literature was an exotic; there was scarcely one poet among the Latins who could properly be called national. They studied the Greek mythology, not because they believed in it, but because they thought it available for poetical purposes. Hence Virgil's fictions are much tamer than those of Homer: they want the animating power of faith. But the mixture of the two mythologies, made by the poets, is not the only difficulty in tracing the divinities of ancient Latium; the priests made it a rule to conceal the real names of some of the principal deities, and when the fashion of giving them Greek names and attributes prevailed, their original designations and their proper functions were confounded and forgotten. In Ovid's *Fasti*, we find Janus represented as inferior to Juno, and soon after described as the most ancient of the gods, who claims the first share in all devotions and sacrifices.

The ancient Latin religion was more elementary and symbolical than that of the Greeks. We find the human form abandoned in some deities. The god *Zerminus* was merely an unshapen stone, a natural pillar, such as seems to have been worshipped in most pagan nations.* This deity presided over the sanctity of

* The reader will be reminded of the stone pillars venerated by the Druids, and of the misshapen rocks honoured with worship in several parts of the East. I find from Herodian that the temple of Emesa

landmarks, the rights of property, and the increase of the republic. But the symbolical character of the Roman religion was more forcibly shewn in the personification and deification of abstract qualities. There were temples erected to Concord, to Piety, to Chastity, to Good Faith, to Manly Fortune,* and to Connubial Piety.† These moral attributes could scarcely be regarded as persons; and the custom of worshipping abstractions produced greater reverence, but less affection for the deities than existed among the Greeks.

The rural deities of the Romans were more numerous and more honoured than those of the Greeks: it might almost be said, that the early Latin mythology was identified with agriculture. Romulus instituted a college of twelve rural sacrifices, and became a member himself. The statues of Seja, the goddess of sowing, and Segeta, the goddess of reaping, were standing in the Circus so late as the time of Pliny. On the other hand, most of the deities in the Greek polytheism were warriors; and even those whose functions seemed to qualify them least for war, such as Pallas and Aphrodité, were described by Homer as joining in the battle. Now, agriculture certainly is more calculated to inspire

in Syria, consecrated to the sun, under the name of Elaiagabalus, contained one of these pillars:—"In this temple there stands not any image made with hands, as among the Greeks and Romans, to represent the god; but there is a very large stone, round at the bottom, and terminating in a point of a conical form and of a black colour, which they pretend fell down from Jupiter." (*Herod. v. 5.*) It was probably an *ærolithe*.

* *Fortis Fortuna*, perhaps the superiority of talent. It was connected with the worship of Venus Vesticordia, the goddess of connubial purity.

† Pausanias mentions similar personifications in Greece, but they were probably of a very late age.

notions of utility, justice, and moderation than military life, and hence we are disposed to conclude that the worship of the rural deities among the Romans exercised a greater and more beneficial influence on the morality of their religion than is generally suspected.*

From this account of the Roman religion, it might be reasonably expected that the priesthood would be a very different institution from what it was in Greece. In Rome, the hierarchy was a constituted and corporate body; in Greece, a hierarchy could scarcely be said to exist. But the hierarchy was not only a corporation, it was to a great extent a caste; for the exclusive right of the patricians to take the auspices, that is, to perform the religious ceremonies necessary to the commencement of any public business, was the chief means by which that body was so long enabled to maintain its stand against the just claims of the plebeians.

There can be little doubt that the Romans derived their corporate and hereditary system of priesthood from the Etruscans. In both nations it was the great bulwark of the aristocracy, and in Rome it was the last privilege which the nobles resigned. The influence of the principle is manifest in every page of Livy's history. The debates on the repeal of the law prohibiting the

* In the hymn to the *Fratres Arvales*, which is the oldest specimen of the Latin language, Mars himself is invoked as a rural deity. It is thus translated by Dunlop :

Ye Lares, aid us! Mars, thou god of might,
From murrain shield the flocks,—the flowers from blight.
For thee, O Mars! a feast shall be prepared;
Salt, and a wether chosen from the herd:
Invite by turns each demi-god of spring.
Great Mars, assist us! Triumph, triumph, sing!

intermarriage of patricians and plebeians, exhibit the former expressing their horror at the intrusion of the commons into the rites and ceremonies of religion; and when the law was extorted from the reluctant nobles, we find the senate taking advantage of public calamities—a defeat of the army, a plague or a pestilence—to propose a return to the old constitution, on the plea that plebeian magistrates rendered the rites over which they presided, ineffectual or displeasing to the gods.*

The priestly corporation in Rome was divided into two bodies, the college of pontiffs and the college of augurs. The former regulated all the externals of religion; they decided what ceremonies should be used in special sacrifices, and what works might be allowed on festivals and holidays; they superintended the conduct of the priests, and claimed a right of inspection over the civil dignities, which conferred the power of performing any act of public worship, or offering sacrifices. As the power of the commons increased, appeals began to be made from the pontiffs to the people, and the college rapidly lost its influence as a political body.

In the early ages of Roman history, the augurs were even more influential than the pontiffs; no important transaction, of war or peace, could be undertaken until they had declared that the auspices were favourable. They annulled the elections of magistrates, dictators, and consuls, whenever they discovered, or pretended to discover, any religious informality in the elections. They were to a great extent self-chosen, for there was a law forbidding the admission of any citizen into their

* Comitiiis, auspicato quæ fierent, indignum Diis visum honores vulgari, discriminaque gentium confundi.—*Livy*, v. 14.

college who was suspected of enmity to one of the members. By the Ogulerian law, the augurate and pontificate were opened to the plebeians, but it appears that the right of election was long retained by the colleges.

Though civil functionaries in Rome were often called upon to perform religious duties, it was in their priestly and not in their magisterial capacity that they interfered. No one could take part in the ceremonies of public worship, who had not been regularly consecrated; and hence, in later times, every leading statesman took care to be enrolled in the college of pontiffs or of augurs. Religious sanctity was thus added to administrative authority; and the Plebeians shewed that they felt the value of the union, when they demanded that the Tribunate should be declared sacro-sanct.

It is conceded on all hands, that a portion, at least, of the ancient mythology had an astronomical origin; or, in other words, that the physical changes connected with the periodical motions of the sun, earth, and planets, were frequently symbolized in fable. It may be added, that many of these fables were well suited to inculcate the moral lessons to be deduced from the vicissitudes of the seasons, and particularly that of a superintending Providence. The Greeks, neglecting both the astronomy and the moral, extended the fables into poetic legends; the Romans, without wholly abandoning the astronomy, gave strength to the morality, by combining the fable with their history. A reference to the *Fasti* will shew, that far the greater number of the Roman festivals were connected with some real or imaginary event in their annals; and almost every temple and

every statue erected in Rome, was designed to perpetuate the memory of a great deliverance effected by the interference of the gods, or some remarkable victory ascribed to their favour. This peculiarity of the Roman religion added greatly to the permanence of the constitution and the efficacy of the laws, for every religious festival, and almost every ceremony, taught the citizens to know the history of their country, and to cherish its institutions; and hence the forms of law varied less in Rome than in any ancient republic.

The existence of the soul after death, and a future state of rewards and punishments, were ideas far more predominant in the Roman than in the Grecian religion. The Greeks were averse to any thing that inspired gloomy reflections, and they shunned the idea of death as much as possible. The Romans, thrice a year, celebrated a festival to the deities that presided over the souls of the departed; a mystic pit was dug, the *Mundus*, which was regarded as the door of the invisible world, and while it remained, no public business could be transacted, no vessel quitted the harbour, no marriage was celebrated; the business of life stood still in the presence of death.

Roman polytheism, by its severe strength, was a protection and guarantee to the constitution; it invested the forms and institutions of the state with invisible and mysterious sanctity; and, in one respect at least, surpassed all other forms of polytheism, by inspiring the deepest respect for oaths, promises, and plighted faith. The vengeance of the gods was a menace for every violation of natural right, and even Virgil superadds this motive to hospitality in one of the few passages where he ceases to be an imitator:

Know if the force of human laws you slight,
The gods, the gods, will all our wrongs requite :
Vengeance is theirs, and theirs to guard the right.*

We have shewn that the ceremonial part of the Roman religion was derived from the Etruscans, and that the early regulations concerning the priesthood were admirably adapted to maintain the power of the aristocracy. "It is well known," says Dr. Arnold, "that the government in the cities of Etruria was an exclusive aristocracy, and that the commons, if in so wretched a condition they may be called by that honourable name, were like the mass of the people among the Sclavonic nations, the mere serfs or slaves of the nobility. This is a marked distinction between the Etruscans and the Sabine and Latin nations of Italy; and as in the constitution of Servius Tullius, a Latin spirit is discernible, so the tyranny which either in the shape of a monarchy or an aristocracy suspended that constitution for nearly two centuries, tended certainly to make Rome resemble the cities of Etruria, and may possibly be traced originally to that same revolution which expelled the Sabine gods from the capitol, and changed for ever the simple religion of the infancy of Rome."†

In all the struggles between the Patricians and the Plebeians, religion was a powerful aid to the former; because it was derived from a nation where the aristocracy had exclusive possession of everthing human and divine. So strong was this principle, that when the Plebeians first obtained the right of electing members of their own body to the military tribunate, they forbore to exercise that right, and elected Patricians.

* Ilioneus to Dido, *Æneid* i.

† Arnold's *Rome*, i. 57.

Whether the Servian constitution was overthrown in a religious revolution may be doubted, but nothing is more certain than that its restoration was constantly opposed on religious grounds. The aristocratic party had a definite model of government, for the establishment of which they perpetually struggled, namely, the Etrurian aristocracy. The commons had an equally definite object, the Servian, or, as we may perhaps call it, the Latin constitution,* which gave the commons constitutional existence, and a share both in the legislative and executive power. It is not necessary to enter into the history of the struggles between those parties: it will be enough to record the fact, that whenever the people obtained the recognition of their rights, the state was triumphant abroad and prosperous at home; but whenever the aristocracy had usurped the rights it had conceded to the people, the arms of the republic were disgraced, and the city torn by internal dissensions. This will be found equally true, whether the aristocracy was purely of birth, as in the early ages of Rome, or a mixed aristocracy of birth and wealth, as in the later times of the republic. It must also be confessed, that the strong sense of the national religion, which pervaded all classes, and the great reverence for established institutions, rendered political struggles among the Romans less violent, and political revolutions less destructive of existing privi-

* It may be objected that Servius was of Etrurian birth; this, however, would not prevent his becoming the partisan of the Latin democracy. The legend declares that his mother was a slave: now in the relations of concubinage, the child follows the condition of the mother; so that Servius was personally interested in weakening the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy.

leges, than similar events were among the Greeks: the Patricians never reduced the Plebeians to the condition of the Helots in Sparta; the Commons never established such an absolute democracy as that which prevailed in Athens.

Privilege and liberty are often opposed to each other; but there is no real opposition between constitutional privilege and constitutional liberty; they may co-exist not only harmoniously, but beneficially, when both are limited and defined by law. "The most striking point in the character of the Romans," says Dr. Arnold, "was their love of institutions and of order, their reverence for law, their habit of considering the individual as living only for that society of which he was a member."* But it is of importance to observe, that individual rights are more regarded in a state where the government is mixed, where there are distinct classes and orders recognised by the constitution, than where the government is simple and uniform, no matter whether it be a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. Even in modern times, we find unmixed forms of government fatal to individual independence; the despotism of Russia is not more crushing than that which was exercised by the Venetian oligarchy, and the best authorities inform us that a similar tendency in absolute democracy to establish despotism may be distinctly seen in the United States of America. "I am not acquainted," says De Tocqueville, "with any country in which there is so little true independence of mind, and so little freedom of discussion as in America. The authority of a king is purely physical; it controls

* Arnold's *Rome*, i. 98.

the action of the subject without subduing his private will; but the majority in America is invested with a power which is physical and moral at the same time; it acts upon the will, as well as upon the actions of men, and represses not only all contest, but all controversy."* "There is less private and social freedom in America than there is in Europe," says Dr. Dewey; and specially referring to the condition of religious freedom in the United States, he adds, "I allow that the multiplicity of sects in this country (America) is some bond for their mutual forbearance and freedom, *but the strength and repose of a great establishment are in some respects more favourable to private liberty.* It is in the protected soil of great establishments that the germs of every great reform in the church have quietly taken root. For myself, if I were ever to permit my liberty to be compromised for such considerations, I would rather take my chance in the bosom of a great national religion, than amidst the jealous eyes of small and contending sects. And I think it will be found that a more liberal and catholic theology has always pervaded establishments than the bodies of dissenters from them. Nay I much doubt whether intolerance itself, in such countries—in England and Germany for instance—has ever gone to the length of Jewish and Samaritan exclusion that has been sometimes witnessed amongst us."†

The same eloquent writer describes some of the atrocious excesses to which absolute democracy no less than any other absolute form of government is exposed, though he does not go the entire length of proposing the

* De Tocqueville, i. 53.

† Dewey's Moral Views, 177.

establishment of a privileged class to prevent the violent and irregular movements of the unchecked populace. "It is true and lamentable," he boldly declares, "that some of our citizens have strangely forgotten the very principle on which our institutions are based,—freedom—freedom of speech—freedom of publication—freedom of trial by jury, as the only condition on which life, liberty, or property in this country shall ever be touched. My blood runs cold in my veins, and I tremble as I look upon my children, to think that my house or yours may yet be surrounded by an armed mob, that you or I may be shot down without remorse on our own threshold, simply for asserting our honest opinion. . . Give me any tyranny rather than that most monstrous of all the tyrannies ever heard of—the bloody violence of a lawless people, with liberty on their lips and murder in their hearts. Let this body of mine sink under the Turkish bowstring, or the Russian knout, rather than be trodden out of life under the heels of a brutal populace."*

It was the peculiar good fortune of Rome that the legal existence both of the nobles and commons was recognized by the constitution; the struggle between the classes very early compelled all parties to make provision for individual protection; personal immunities were secured to every Roman citizen; the Valerian and Porcian laws limited the right of the state over its individual members; and we can find no similar wisdom in any of the Grecian constitutions.

Few histories exhibit more strongly than that of Rome the distinction between the external greatness

† Dewey's Moral Views, 285.

and the internal prosperity of a state. The great English moralist has said,

Extended empire, like expanded gold,
Exchanges solid strength for feeble splendour :

it was not when the Roman name was highest, and the Roman empire most extensive, that the Roman people was most happy. From the moment that the Romans resolved to carry their arms beyond the limits of Italy, and to become a nation of conquerors, the social state of the citizens began to deteriorate: "the rich became too rich, and the poor too poor:" the increasing inequality of fortune revived the old relation of clientship in its worst form, and the gratuitous distributions of corn, which we may regard as the Roman system of Poor Laws, created in the city a demoralized, because a pauperized populace, ever ready "to sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage." It was owing to this class that the reform attempted by the Gracchi failed, for the people consented to receive a distribution of rent from the usurpers of the public lands, instead of a division of the lands themselves.

The germs of ruin were planted at the very moment when the exclusive and injurious privileges of the aristocracy were abolished, and the rights of the Commons established on a just and permanent foundation. The governing body then included the nobles and the middle classes; but it excluded a party which grew more numerous as Rome increased in wealth and population; that is, the operatives and labourers who came from various quarters to seek employment in the city, the emancipated slaves, and those whose occupations were deemed degrading, and who were shut out by a

strong public opinion from all political distinctions. In every free constitution that has ever existed, a principle of exclusion is established somewhere; even the wildest advocates of what is called "universal suffrage," do not propose that females, infants, or the insane should be admitted into the class of electors and representatives. In most states, an arbitrary qualification has been adopted; but though confessedly arbitrary, the qualification is too often raised to the rank of a constitutional principle. But whatever may be the nature of the qualification, it often happens that the progress of society multiplies the number, or in other words, the physical force of those who are excluded; while the continued exclusion degrades the class in their own estimation, and tends to render their future enfranchisement perilous to society. The Roman Reform Bills, as the Licinian and Hortensian Rogations may be called, were great blessings when they were first enacted; but these blessings could not be permanent unless they were accompanied by prospective measures for the future extension of the suffrage, measures which would gradually train up the excluded classes, and prepare them for future enfranchisement.

The unnecessary exclusion of any person, or class of persons, from the benefits of the society of which he or they form a constituent part, is obviously unjust. It is a healthy sign of a community to see persons anxious to acquire the right of voting; every person who makes such a claim, virtually says, "I am interested in the welfare of my country; I feel that responsibilities are attached to me as a member of the state, and I am anxious to do my duties as a man and a citizen." The

restriction that excludes such a person, if he is neither intellectually nor morally unfitted to perform these duties, is a serious social evil, for it forbids the practice of social virtue. But it would be absurd to deny that the gradual extension of the suffrage to excluded classes, and still more the establishment of a system of moral discipline by which these classes should be gradually prepared for safe enfranchisement, are the greatest and most difficult problems that remain to be solved by political wisdom. We do not pretend to have discovered how either may be effected; it is enough to shew that their solution cannot be neglected with impunity, for it was such neglect, aggravated indeed by many other circumstances, that mainly led to the overthrow of the constitutional freedom of Rome, and the establishment of imperial despotism.

The great peril arising from an excluded class is, that it furnishes a party ready-made to the ambitious and the unprincipled. An alliance between the highest aristocrats and the lowest populace is by no means uncommon in the history of the progress of society; they have often made common cause against the middle class, which they both equally dislike, and almost detest. Cataline, in his Letter to Catullus, fairly confesses that disappointed ambition made him a demagogue;* both the triumvirates, but especially the second, were established by a union of violent aristocrats with the mere rabble of Rome. "In such an union between the highest and lowest classes of society," says Doctor

* Quod fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus, statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam, pro meâ consuetudine suscepi.—*Sallust.*

Arnold, "the gain is mostly for the former; the latter derive little advantage from the alliance, except the pleasure of the horse in the fable, when he saw his old enemy the stag effectually humbled. But the coalition is not one solely of political expediency: it arises partly out of certain moral affinities, existing between those whose social and political conditions are the extreme opposites. The moral bond between them is their common impatience of law and good government; that anarchical and selfish restlessness, which sees in the existing order of society an equal restraint upon the pride and passion of the highest, and on the needy cupidity of the lowest."*

But at such a crisis it must be acknowledged that the middle classes are not always free from blame: after having conquered an aristocracy, they are too likely to become an aristocracy themselves; they rarely remove institutions which tend to perpetuate the moral inferiority of the excluded classes; and still more rarely do they introduce new institutions, designed to elevate their character, and fit them for civil life. So far was this from being the case at Rome, that its rulers systematically laboured to form an idle and licentious populace, by public and private largesses,† and those who attempted to check such extravagance ran the risk of being stigmatized as enemies to the poor; a common calumny against all who advise the poor to reject a small immediate bribe for a great prospective advantage.

* Arnold's Rome, ii. 271.

† *Juventus quæ in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerat* — *Sallust.*

The principles of civilization which most tended to establish the supremacy of Rome, were the solidity of its religious and civil institutions, and at the same time the expansive power which both possessed, and by which, without destruction, they could be accommodated to the changes of times and circumstances. But we cannot look at the history of the period when the external greatness of Rome commenced, without perceiving that the success of the republic may be ascribed to many other causes besides its inherent strength. It was for Rome that Philip clove down the liberties of Greece at Chæronea, and Alexander subverted the ancient empire of Persia; it was for Rome that Carthage colonized Spain, and the Ptolemies revived the commercial plans of the Pharaohs. In the political, not less than in the physical world, there are traces of design, and of a unity of plan and purpose, which are no less evidences of a presiding deity than the combinations of the planetary system are proofs of an Almighty Creator. We see that there is design, though we cannot comprehend its nature: that there is a plan, though so extensive and complicated as to pass our powers of comprehension; and we can at least dimly perceive a purpose in the uniform result—the advancement of human improvement.

When we compare the early history of Rome with that of cotemporary nations, it is scarcely possible to avoid seeing, that even while ignorant that such a republic as Rome existed, the actions of the Greeks, the Macedonians, the Syrians, and Egyptians were undesignedly preparing a way for the future march of Roman triumph; while Italian history shews that Rome

was held back until the precise moment when the world was prepared to receive her empire. It is not designed to exclude the consideration of secondary causes; but in this instance the secondary causes are so numerous and varied, and yet so harmonious in their operation, that it would be scarcely less absurd to deny the existence of a superintending power to produce such an unity, than to ascribe the harmony of the planetary world to mere chance.*

The supremacy of Rome was owing far more to its moral than to its intellectual superiority. Polybius, comparing the Roman republic with the other cotemporary republics, distinctly points out the civil and religious institutions which rendered the public morals of the Romans more perfect than those of their cotemporaries, and hazards a prediction—amply justified by the event—that the overthrow of the republic would result from the decay of morality, symptoms of which had become visible in his own time. It is probable that Rome might have had a national literature, if the conquest of Greece had been delayed for a century. There is abundant proof that the Romans once had a native literature, consisting of ballads, heroic lays,

* “In one respect, indeed, the view of the moral world discovers even a more glorious revelation of the attributes of God. The planet revolves for ever in its appointed orbit; and the noblest triumph of mechanical philosophy is to have ascertained, that the perturbations of its course are all compensated within determined periods, and its movements exempted from decay. But man, weak and erring though he be, is still progressive in his moral nature. He does not move round for ever in one unvarying path of moral action. The combinations of his history, exhibit not only the unity of the material system, but also the continually advancing improvement belonging to a being of a higher order.—*Miller's History Philosophically Illustrated*, iv. 560.

lyrical and dramatic pieces, and political lampoons; these germs might have become great and flourishing, had they not been suddenly consigned to neglect, and the whole energy of the Roman mind directed to the cultivation of the exotic literature of Greece:

For conquered Greece brought in her captive arts,
And triumphed o'er her savage conqueror's hearts;
Taught their rough verse its numbers to refine,
And their rude style with elegance to shine.*

The poet has not quite stated the full extent of the conquest: the Romans not only imported ideas and sentiments from the Greeks, but metres, the structure of verse, and even, in some cases, language. The Saturnian metres were exchanged for hexameters; the old legends of Latium were accommodated to the mythology of Greece, and dramatists rested their fame on their skill as translators rather than inventors. This imitation was a tacit confession of inferiority, but a more direct acknowledgment was not wanting. Virgil himself distinctly abandons all claim to intellectual merit for himself and his countrymen. He introduces Anchises, thus warning Æneas, the supposed founder of the race:

Let others better mould the running mass
Of medals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar; describe the skies,
And when the stars descend and when they rise:
But Rome, 't is thine alone, with awful sway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way;
To tame the proud, the fettered slave to free —
These are imperial arts, and worthy thee.†

* Francis's Horace, ii. Epistles, i. † Dryden's Virgil. Æneid vi.

But though the materials of the classical literature of Rome were confessedly derived from Greece, yet with these materials the Romans established an intellectual sway scarcely less extensive than their political pre-eminence. They introduced the Latin language and literature into all the Western nations they subdued; and it was chiefly, if not only, through the Latin imitators, that the Italians, Spaniards, Gauls, and Germans became acquainted with the intellectual advancement and refinement for which humanity is indebted to Greece.*

Feeling the necessity of some principle of unity in

* I may be permitted to quote some remarks on this subject from an essay (a Sibylline leaf waisted back) which appeared in a popular journal: "The triumphs of the colossal power of Rome were as great in intellectual as in political pre-eminence; its influence as extensive, its authority as resistless, and its effects as pernicious. But magnitude is not the only point of similitude between the mental and physical sway of the *Eternal City*; there is a striking analogy between the means by which both were established, the circumstances which gave them durability, and the consequences by which they were attended. If the refined political institutions of Athens and Sparta, equally with the barbarous governments of the North and East, melted into one imperial rule, so also did the wild grandeur of oriental poetry, the rich elegance of Grecian bards, and the rude lays of our Northern ancestors, all yield to the influence of Rome, and aid in the formation of a literature which was alone deemed classical. In all her conquests, both over mind and matter, Rome fought with borrowed weapons — the religion that inspired her citizens with confidence in the protection of heaven, was borrowed from the Tuscans; the Samnites instructed her soldiers in military discipline; Gaul gave the sword and Greece the shield; Carthage sent the model of that navy which was to ensure her own destruction;—all these elements of power were, by a process of assimilation peculiar to the Roman state, formed into parts of its constitution: like the monster in *Frankenstein*, the members were taken from a thousand carcases, and moulded into an organized whole, of amazing energy and resistless prowess."—*Athenæum*, No. 195.

their extended and diversified empire, the Romans endeavoured to make their language universal. They succeeded in the Northern and Western provinces, for there, Latin had only to struggle against rude and barbarous dialects; they failed completely in all the provinces which had formed a part of the Macedonian empire, because the superiority of the Greek language, for every purpose of civilised life, was unquestionable, and indeed was readily confessed by the Romans themselves. Thus the actual division of the Roman empire into Grecian and Latin states, was marked distinctly by difference of language, long before any of the emperors had meditated a formal partition.

The empire of Rome had been acquired under the sanction and with the aid of the national religion; it was therefore greatly weakened when that religion was overthrown. The fall of Polytheism is a subject of too general an interest to be discussed here incidentally; we shall therefore examine its consequences in the next chapter. For the present, it will be sufficient to state, that as every political institution in Rome was more or less connected with religion, the stability of those institutions, which had been so great a source of acquiring and securing empire, shared in the decline of the national faith.

But these institutions were directly assailed from other quarters. The forms of the republic were wisely preserved by the Cæsars and the Antonines, for they were useful in shielding the monarch from personal responsibility. Had there been no senate to share in the popular odium, the death of Sejanus would scarcely have saved Tiberius from the consequences of his crimes.

Less enlightened emperors did not perceive this advantage; they trusted to the standing army, and thus made the soldiers masters of themselves and the empire. Dioclesian changed the despotism of the camp for that of the court, and deprived Rome of its political importance, by removing the court to other cities. This change was consummated by Constantine; and though the empire was still called Roman, Rome ceased to be its metropolis.

But the changes in government, and the removal of the seat of power, were less fatal to the Romans and the Italian people, than the corruption and demoralization which pervaded every class of society. Among the most prominent causes of this corruption, we may reckon the gratuitous distributions of corn, the great extension of slavery, and the gladiatorial system. It is not easy to determine at what period of Roman history the custom of distributing corn to the poorer citizens was introduced, but we find that demagogues soon made the system subservient to their ambition, by proposing to increase the amount of the largesses; for it is a cheap mode of acquiring popularity, to be very generous at the expense of other people. They complained that the allowance was not greater than that made to a slave, and therefore accused the government of treating the people like slaves. They did not see that they were thus creating a helpless population, destitute of industry and prudence, ready to submit to any form of government which would provide subsistence and recreation.* The "sportula," or dole, given by the wealthy to their clients, may be reckoned among

* "Panem" and "Circenses."—*Juvenal*.

the mischievous forms of public and private generosity which tend to demoralise a people. Juvenal complains, that in his age, even the nobles submitted to receive these alms from wealthy patrons, and gives us a very amusing description of the begging impostors :

“ A wood

Of litters thick besiege the donor's gate,
And begging lords and teeming ladies wait
The promised dole : nay, some have learn'd the trick
To beg for absent persons ; feign them sick,
Close mew'd in their sedans for fear of air ;
And for their wives produce an empty chair.
“ This is my spouse, dispatch her with her share :
'T is Galla ” — “ Let her ladyship but peep ” —
“ No Sir, 't is pity to disturb her sleep. ” *

Under the successors of Constantine, the monthly distributions of corn were converted into a daily allowance of bread. A vast number of ovens was constructed and maintained at the public expense, and, at the appointed hour, each citizen who was furnished with a ticket, ascended the flight of steps which had been appointed to his peculiar quarter or division, and received, either as a gift, or at a very low price, a loaf of bread, of the weight of three pounds, for the use of his family. Bacon, oil, and wine, were likewise distributed regularly, and on any great occasion, public feasts were added. No greater proof of the demoralizing effects of such a system, than the total disappearance of the small landed proprietors in Italy, and the want of a middle class in Rome. Even in the age which preceded the fall of the republic, it was computed, that only two thousand citizens possessed an independent subsistence. †

* Dryden's Juvenal, Satire i.

† Cicero de Officiis, ii. 21.

The employment of slaves in the works of the field, and in most branches of manufacture, was another cause of the great demoralization of Italy under the empire. The slaves originally were barbarian captives taken in war, and purchased by the slave-merchants at a very low price.* They were naturally eager to regain their freedom, and revenge the wrongs they had endured, and hence the most cruel regulations were made to retain them in bondage. When the extension of the empire rendered war less frequent, the interests of the masters coinciding with those of humanity, procured more lenient treatment for the slaves; their marriages were encouraged, greater care was taken of their health, and they were even allowed to possess property. Still these alleviations depended on the temper and circumstances of their owners, who had absolute authority even over their existence. Juvenal represents an imperious wife displaying her authority over her husband, by ordering a slave to be put to death without assigning any reason but her will:

“Go, drag that slave to death,”—Your reason, why
Should the poor innocent be doom’d to die?
What proofs? For when man’s life is in debate,
The judge can ne’er too long deliberate.—
“Call’st thou that slave a man?” the wife replies,
“Proved or unproved the crime, the villain dies.
I have the sovereign power to save or kill,
And give no other reason but my will.”†

It does not appear that a census was ever taken of the slaves of Rome, but there is abundant evidence

* Plutarch tells us, that in the camp of Lucullus, a slave could be purchased for four drachmæ, that is, about three shillings of our money.

† Dryden’s Juvenal, Satire vi.

that they were much more numerous than the free population. It was justly apprehended that there would be great danger in making them acquainted with their own numbers, and on this account Seneca informs us that the proposal for discriminating them by a peculiar dress was at once rejected. Athenæus declares that he knew very many Romans who kept for ostentation rather than use, ten and even twenty thousand slaves. This may perhaps be an exaggeration; but Tacitus informs us that on a very melancholy occasion, no less than four hundred slaves were found in a single palace in Rome. The anecdote is very remarkable, not merely because it proves the great amount of the slave population, but also because it shews what sanguinary precautions were required to shield the masters from their vengeance.

According to the ancient laws of Rome, if a master was murdered by his slave, all the slaves that lived under the same roof were to be involved in the same penalty as the criminal. Pedanius Secundus, the governor of Rome under Nero, was murdered by one of his slaves, and as he maintained four hundred of these unhappy beings in his palace, the Roman citizens were revolted by the wholesale butchery which the law required. The matter was referred to the senate, and after a long debate it was resolved by the majority, that notwithstanding the age of some, the sex of others, and the undoubted innocence of most, the whole four hundred should be condemned to death and executed. It was not without difficulty that this atrocious sentence was fulfilled. Nero had to issue an edict to restrain the people, and to order out all the military force in Rome to guard the place of execution.

The invasions of Alaric and Attila were greatly facilitated by the multitude of slaves in Italy. They easily recruited their armies from a population so justly disaffected; no less than forty thousand slaves once joined Alaric in a body, and they became the most desperate and sanguinary portion of his army. A slave-holding country must ever be at the mercy of invaders; it would be a fearful contemplation to speculate on the consequences of the Royal African corps, or a brigade of the West India regiments effecting a landing in the southern states of America.

It is impossible to speak or think of the Gladiatorial system, that worst aggravation of the horrors of Roman slavery, without referring to Byron's noble description of the Dying Gladiator:

I see before me the gladiator lie :
 He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
 Consents to death, but conquers agony,
 And his droop'd head sinks gradually low—
 And through his side the last drops ebbing slow
 From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
 Like the first of a thunder shower; and now
 The arena swims around him—he is gone,
 Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd the wretch who won.

He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
 Were with his heart, and that was far away;
 He reck'd not of the life he lost, nor prize,
 But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
 There were his young barbarians all at play,
 There was their Dacian mother—he their sire,
 Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday—
 All this rush'd with his blood.—Shall he expire,
 And unavenged?—Awake, ye Goths, and glut your ire!

Most of the gladiators were barbarian slaves or cap-

tives, purchased by contractors for public and private exhibitions of these sanguinary spectacles. No war was ever so destructive to the human race as these sports. The principal magistrates, the candidates for office, and the heirs of any great and rich citizen lately deceased, gratified the populace with these sights during the republic; but the emperors, whose policy it was to court the mob as their surest support against any confederation of the nobles, exhibited them on almost every occasion. Julius Cæsar, in his ædileship, diverted the people with three hundred and twenty couple of gladiators; and Trajan in a solemnity of more than a hundred days, exhibited no less than a thousand couple. Besides the torrents of blood which flowed at the funerals, in the amphitheatres, the circus, the forums, and other public places, gladiators were introduced at feasts, and tore each other to pieces amidst the supper tables, to the great delight and applause of the guests.

Authors have been found who have attempted to palliate or even justify these barbarous sports on the same ground that bull-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and man-fighting were defended in England; it was said that they kept alive the manly and martial spirit of the people. Experience has shewn that even this miserable excuse is destitute of foundation; so far is a taste for sanguinary sport from being an incentive to courage, that it was quite a proverb with our soldiers during the last war, that the most cruel were the most cowardly. The Spanish bull-fights are the nearest approximation to the gladiatorial combats which can be found in modern Europe, and assuredly the Spaniards are far from being the bravest people in Christendom.

Amusements of blood and cruelty may, and do inculcate assassination, treachery and murder; but they never did, and they never can inspire the courage and firmness that constitute a hero. They only served to brutalize the Roman populace, already demoralized by a vicious administration; and if they did not accelerate the fall of the empire, they at least stripped fallen greatness of all its claim to pity, and caused the ruin of Rome to be hailed as the triumph of humanity.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE DECLINE OF POLYTHEISM.

HAVING in the two preceding chapters examined some of the leading moral influences which the polytheism of Greece and Rome exercised over the social condition of Europe, it is proper to take a view of the effects produced by the decline and fall of their religious systems, before we enter on any examination of the new principles of civilization developed by the Christian system. This is an inquiry of considerable difficulty and importance; but we shall be greatly aided in the examination if we first direct our attention to the more general question—the circumstances that mark the decay and termination of a dogma or an opinion.

No opinion or dogma, totally and absolutely false, ever held dominion over mankind; a prevalent creed must, in the outset, have won its way by giving prominence to some great truth, and by keeping in the back-ground the portion of falsehood with which it was united. The Hellenic system of polytheism prevailed over the elementary mythology of Asia, principally by attributing human sympathies to its deities, and thus bringing forward the great truth—that a religion of love is more desirable for mankind than a religion of fear. The falsehood combined with the dogma was, that sympathies for humanity could *only* be expected

from beings having human shape.* The false part of the creed was that from which its substantial forms were derived; and the more these forms were multiplied and extended, the farther was the spiritual truth removed from observation, until at length no trace remained of the creed but an unintelligible ritual and inexplicable observances.

Religious truth is peculiarly exposed to the danger of being absorbed thus in forms, but at the same time it would be a most perilous experiment to present it always to mankind as a vague abstraction: an opinion that has not been embodied in form, rarely influences life or conduct; it is a speculation, and nothing more. It is true that the form of religion may exist without the substance, but it is equally true that the substance rarely exists without the form.

The peril of forms results from the natural indolence of the human mind. During the struggle necessary for the establishment of an opinion, the truth on which it is based remains pure and perfect; but when the victory is won, triumph produces apathy, and the conquerors trust to formularies for the memory, instead of proofs for the understanding. Two great evils necessarily result: the grounds of belief are shifted from argument to authority, and from reason to credulity;†

* This may, perhaps, have been derived from a previous falsehood; the attribution of any form to the Deity, and then the anthropomorphism of the Greeks, though still a falsehood, was an approximation to truth; in one form it was a truth, namely, the necessity of uniting divinity with humanity, "not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God."

† I use the word credulity, not faith; for according to the apostolic definition, faith is "belief grounded on evidence." St. Paul says,

while the forms are the more easily corrupted as their proper signification sinks into oblivion. Even if human depravity did not corrupt formularies, symbols, and ceremonies; the lapse of time, the changes of circumstances, fashions, language and modes of expression, divert formularies from their original meaning, and obscure the truth they were intended to shadow forth.* The first advocates of the opinion,—or the first reformers as they may be called, for every introduction of new opinion is reform—generally increase the danger, by making no distinction between the forms which ought to be permanent, and those which are designed for a temporary purpose. Indeed they generally give most strength and prominence to the institutions designed to meet some pressing evil, peculiar to their own times. They do not reflect, that a correction continuing to exist after an abuse has disappeared, like taking medicine after a disease is cured, is almost

“Faith is the subsistence or existence (*υποστασις*) of things hoped for; the demonstration (*το ελεγχος*) of things not seen.” An existence can only be proved by evidence, and a demonstration without argument is a contradiction in terms.

* It is to be feared that to some extent this has taken place in the language of our venerable Liturgy; and though a change in its form may not be advisable, I think that it would be highly desirable for clergymen to deliver lectures on the liturgy to the less educated part of their congregation, explaining it word by word, and paragraph by paragraph, and taking particular care to explain, when necessary, their own explanation. As a proof of the want of such a system, I may mention that I have many times heard dissenters object to the General Absolution,—that in the sentence, “He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe His holy gospel,”—the word “He” meant the minister; and I have known members of the church, and these not of the lowest rank, acquiesce in the interpretation.

certain to become an abuse itself. Take, for example, some of the creeds to be found in ecclesiastical history; these were prepared to check some heresy prevalent at the time of their adoption, and consequently greater prominence is given to the articles that contradict cotemporary errors than to those which form the foundation of the common faith; and moreover, these articles are expressed with a strength of language, which, under other circumstances, would appear exaggerated even to the authors. When the heresies were forgotten these articles remained, and we find that they proved a snare and a stumbling-block to all the oriental churches.

An established system of opinions must frequently rest for its main support on simple acquiescence in its forms; but it is exposed to serious danger if it does not widen this basis by explaining the forms, shewing their significance, and presenting evidence for the truth they contain. Inquiry will come, whether it be desired or not; scepticism will develope itself, and when it finds no solution for its doubts, will reject the system altogether. And this result cannot be affected by the greater or less amount of absolute truth in the doctrines, for that absolute truth does not become a moral truth until it is established by proof in the understanding.*

Doubt is too frequently treated as a crime, and attributed either to obliquity of intellect or hardness of heart; but doubt is a necessary accompaniment of a

* See Archbishop Whately's *Essays on some of the Dangers to Christian Faith*, especially the Second Essay—On the Danger of neglecting Evidence.

spirit of inquiry and research, and its first movements are rather proofs of amity than hostility to an established creed. The earliest desire of scepticism is to discover in the prevalent doctrines something that may justify former belief in them, satisfy the present good-will towards them, and firmly establish them for the future, on the basis of enlightened conviction. It will not do to tell such a mind that doubt is sinful, and more perilous is it to check or punish the desire for procuring the solution of difficulties: if this be done, the result is certain; mild scepticism will be changed into confirmed hostility to the doctrines.* The system if true—and if its truth be not concealed and corrupted by antiquated forms, which have been perverted in the course of centuries, by the ambition of some, or the ignorance of others—will afford the honest inquirers what they seek, and they will thus attain a more settled conviction and firm faith than if they had never doubted. But if it be false, or if its truth be so corrupted by the abuses of centuries as to become a virtual falsehood, scepticism soon becomes confirmed, and the ancient system is rejected, at once and for ever.

The moment that this decisive step is taken, every thing connected with the rejected doctrine assumes a new aspect; its most venerable traditions appear to be inven-

* On this point, I can unfortunately speak from experience. A young and intelligent lad, with whom I was well acquainted, sought from his teacher a solution of some difficulties in the New Testament, which by the way, were of easy solution to a well-informed man; he candidly explained the nature of his doubts, and much to his surprise, was severely punished as a blasphemer. The consequence will surprise nobody: he lived and died, not merely an infidel, but a zealous apostle of infidelity.

tions devised for interested purposes, its most solemn forms seem but idle mummery. The persons who feel thus, have been led to such a conclusion by their moral nature; their conviction is therefore mingled with indignation; they refuse to believe what is false, or to reverence what is contemptible. "A new faith is erected in their souls on the ruins of the old."* This faith has no positive elements; it is nothing more than a negation of the received faith: but it is vigorous, because it was unexpected; the conviction is living in the soul with all the passion of a first love; and finally, it is the more vigorous, because it is felt to be revolutionary. The sceptics proclaim their discoveries, and are, at first, derided by the whole world. But doubt once proclaimed, rapidly insinuates itself into the public mind, and ere long, those who govern in the name of the ancient faith discover that the foundation of their power is shaken.

The formularies which in the age of quiet submission passed without challenge, now prove faithless to their masters; they contain no elements of self-defence, for the truth by which they first won supremacy has been long since forgotten; the possessors of power, therefore, have recourse to physical force, and this appears to the reflective part of mankind a tacit acknowledgment that their cause can no longer be maintained by reason or argument. But, in the struggle, a time comes when the innovators are perplexed by their very success; they are all-powerful to destroy, but they are unable to supply the void which they create; they find that scept-

* Jouffroy: *Mélanges Philosophiques*, p. 7. I do not agree with all the reasoning in the Essay entitled "*Comment les dogmes finissent*;" but I gladly confess that I have derived great assistance from so able an analysis of the history of opinion.

ticism cannot long survive its victim ; man in the long run requires some positive belief, because he knows that truth has existence somewhere. The innovators hasten to supply the deficiency ; but they are no longer unanimous, each has a system of his own, and they soon begin to hate each other more than the common enemy. This is the crisis of the revolution ; if the reformers, yielding to pride, prejudice, and passion, continue their controversies, insist on the infallibility of their separate plans, and stigmatise all who refuse them assistance, as traitors and deserters, they will infallibly lose popular support ; for the mass of the people, eager for truth yet despairing of a safe guide, will sink into apathy and indifference.

The partisans of the old system may now recover their lost ground : they have the unity which their adversaries want, and they are relieved from the necessity of maintaining a defensive position, because the systems devised by the innovators give them the opportunity of becoming assailants in turn. Moreover, among the schemes devised by the reformers there will doubtless be some absurd, impracticable, and even pernicious to society. It is easy to attribute these schemes to the entire body of reformers, and thus there is a fair chance that popular suspicion will be superadded to popular indifference. The very last thing that enters the heads of the innovating leaders is the possibility of a revival of the party that supported the antiquated doctrines, and so far as the mere doctrines are concerned they are right ; but the party interested in old abuses is quite content to take the institutions without the doctrines, and, relying on the neutrality of the people, to assume their ancient power.

The peril of counter-revolution is thus greatest at the moment when the revolution itself is completed, and to avert this evil more caution is required than is usually found consistent with the enthusiasm, and more self-denial than belongs to the pride, of successful reformers. In some rare instances the crisis has passed over with little injury ; but in most there has been a restoration of the ancient rule without the ancient belief, and then clever hypocrisy characterizes the government, and stupid indifference, or still more stupid superstition, engrosses the people. Truth seems to have been consigned to "the tomb of all the Capulets," never to rise again.

At such periods, despair seizes on those who love truth and their fellow men : but such a feeling is not justifiable ; if they followed Truth, their mistress, to the sepulchre, they would find, like the lover of Verona, that they had mistaken a swoon for death, and might with him exclaim—

Thou art not conquered : beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson on thy lips and on thy cheek,
And death's pale flag is not advanced there.

In the moral, as in the physical world, the truth of the beautiful Irish proverb is constantly exemplified—"The darkest hour of the night is that which precedes the day." The universe is full of secret causes, which appear altogether at the command of Providence, and break to pieces the most perfect structures of human art. Nothing is so frail as a dominion founded on force : a people without faith in its rulers, despises while it obeys them ; rulers, without faith in themselves or each other, cannot hold together : there is a voice in the breast of the most corrupt, which speaks of liberty, truth, and

virtue; and when next the standard of the good cause is unfurled, it will be instantly surrounded by such a crowd of proselytes as not only to render victory certain but defeat impossible. It was thus that the triumph of paganism over the imperfect reforms of philosophy prepared the way for the irresistible progress of Christianity.

In tracing the decline and fall of Polytheism, we have in the first place to inquire what were the circumstances which led to a doubt of its claims to credibility. We have seen that the more ancient mythology was purely elementary, and that some worship was offered to the powers of nature in every system of polytheism. Hence the explanation of physical phenomena became united to religious tradition, and as science was in its infancy when such explanations were framed, many of them were refuted by the subsequent progress of knowledge; and when these parts were proved absurd, the whole system was shaken. The first blow at Grecian polytheism was struck by Anaxagoras, when he disproved the personality of the solar orb, and declared it to be a mass of candescent matter larger than the Peloponnesus.

In all false religions we find the founders committing themselves to an explanation of physical phenomena, for these naturally excite the curiosity of an ignorant people, and the pretended power of tracing their causes is a great means of success to the impostor who passes himself for a prophet. Mohammed yielded to this temptation, and gave a very particular account of the system of the universe in the Koran, which has proved a sad stumbling-block to such of his followers as have become acquainted with modern science. In an account

of his travels in France, published by the Sheikh Refâa, head of the polytechnic school at Cairo, we find the following account of European science, in which the opposition of philosophy to the Koran is noticed with an obvious mixture of scepticism and hypocrisy:—"The French excel in all the practical sciences, and are equally well acquainted with the speculative. There are among them, however, certain philosophical opinions, which the reason of other nations will not readily admit; but they support them so ably and so plausibly, that they seem founded in reality. In astronomy, for instance, they are deeply skilled, and the aid of the instruments they have invented, renders them very superior to the ancients. But they have mixed with these sciences some heretical ideas, contrary to what we read in our sacred books; such as the assertion, that the earth revolves on its axis, and that the sun is stationary in the centre of the planetary system. They support these opinions by arguments which it is difficult to refute. The Mussulman who wishes to study French books, should therefore attach himself closely to the holy text of the Koran, and to our sacred traditions, to prevent his faith from being shaken."

It is a remarkable peculiarity of the Bible, that it propounds no physical theories, and authoritatively explains no natural phenomena. Every separate revelation, contained in the collected volume, was accommodated to the amount of knowledge possessed by those to whom it was addressed; and consequently it recognises certain systems as existing, but without in any way vouching for their authority. But this peculiarity, by which the Bible is so remarkably distinguished from

every pretended revelation, has been perversely assailed by commentators in almost every age, each of whom has endeavoured to graft his own hasty guesses, and crude fancies, on the sacred text. Such efforts, when they partially succeed, become a frequent source of infidelity to the inquiring and the educated; not because physical science is hostile to religion, but because false science has been allied to true religion by the ignorant and presumptuous, and religion then suffers for the demerits of its ally.

We have shewn the tendency in religious systems to allow the forms to absorb the doctrines, and the ritual to supersede the creed. Hence there was a constantly increasing disproportion between the doctrinal part of polytheism and the general intelligence of the community. This disproportion was greatly increased by the multiplication of divinities, and the introduction of foreign gods, whose worship naturally became more popular than that of the ancient deities, because they could not be convicted of having so often rejected the prayers and baffled the hopes of their votaries. Lucian humorously introduces Jupiter complaining, that "since altars were erected to the Egyptian Anubis, and the Thracian Bendis, these deities received countless hecatombs, whilst he was treated as a superannuated divinity, to whom it was quite enough to offer a bull annually."* But this multiplication of divinities was a proof of growing scepticism, and many, disgusted by the great variety of objects of worship,† became indifferent to all. But as the desire of fixed belief is natural to man,

* Lucian's *Dialogues*. Icaro-Menippus.

† Pitisaus asserts, that Rome contained more objects of worship than worshippers.

an attempt was made to remedy the disproportion between the doctrines and the forms, by representing the latter as allegories.

Allegorical interpretation delivered the members of the Pantheon from the charges of immorality involved in the old scandalous or puerile traditions; but they were justified at the expense of their personality. They became either abstract qualities, or physical objects. Minerva was but another name for wisdom, and Bacchus for wine. Thus divested of personality, they were no longer objects of fear or hope: the mythology subsisted, but the religion was at an end.

Allegorical interpretation of prevalent superstitions was probably the first form of philosophy. In Greece, the earlier philosophic schools laboured to reconcile their systems with the existing polytheism; but as knowledge advanced, philosophy receded farther and farther from the popular belief, until at last they became irreconcilably hostile. They were brought into direct collision by the trial of Socrates.

Whether Socrates was the friend or the enemy of polytheism, is a question open to much controversy. Plato affirms, that he had adopted the Theism of Anaxagoras, and grafted on it a moral system, quite inconsistent with the vulgar belief. Xenophon, on the other hand, avers that he was as strongly attached to all the popular superstitions as the most credulous Greek of his day. It is probable, that each of these disciples has coloured the faith of Socrates from his own private opinions. Xenophon certainly is the less credible witness; he had little opportunity of becoming intimate with Socrates, for he early deserted philosophy

to become a military adventurer; he was himself one of the most superstitious men of his age, and had such faith in omens and prodigies, that he detained his soldiers in a place where they were starving, because the sacrifices did not seem propitious to a march; his writings, however remarkable for elegance of style, are destitute of any depth of thought, or wide range of intelligence; and, from his own records, he appears to have been equally vain and weak-minded. If Socrates, in his communications with Xenophon, according to his usual custom, suited the conversation to the character of the person addressed, he would only have discussed with *him*, those portions of his doctrines applicable to the purposes of ordinary life.*

Plato's account of the Theism of Socrates seems to be greatly confirmed by the accusations which Aristophanes urges against the philosopher. He avers, that Socrates worshipped the clouds, and Juvenal makes a similar charge against the Jews, thus rendering it probable, that both poets believed that worship could only be offered to a visible divinity.† The martyrdom of Socrates consummated the overthrow of polytheism as a religion; but it continued to exist as a system, because the rivalry and discord between his followers, as is usually the case with those who have destroyed error, led the people to view the entire subject with apathy

* Benjamin Constant justly says, "Xenophon has given us as the Socratic philosophy, what was really only a portion of it; whilst this philosophy forms but a part of the system of Plato. Socrates, in my opinion, was less superstitious than the one pupil, but at the same time less abstracted than the other."—*Du Polytheisme*, i. 190.

† Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem

Nil præter nubes et numen cæli adorant.—*Juvenal*, Sat. xiv.

and indifference. Polytheism existed, but without vitality or influence, and the empire of the human mind was transferred to an anomalous, but not uncommon union of scepticism and superstition.

A history of the credulity of infidels would make a very amusing volume: every one has heard of Lord Herbert's belief, that he was encouraged by a miracle to write a book, designed to prove that miracles were impossible: it is not very rare to find modern Sadducees who deny all spiritual existences, and yet have a nervous dread of ghosts, and Horace, in spite of his Epicurean philosophy, was quite terrified by thunder when the sky was clear. We must not then be surprised to find, that when polytheism was rejected by the scepticism of common sense, the more revolting absurdities of magic and sorcery were easily embraced by the vulgar. "Magic," says Benjamin Constant, "is the fetichism of civilized life. Fetichism is the effort of man to discover the divinity when nothing suggests the idea: magic is the effort of man to recover the idea after it has been lost."

Irreligion acquired supremacy at Rome when liberty was lost. After all that has been said of the coalition between hierarchies and arbitrary power, it is undeniable that the coalition between despotism and infidelity is a thousand times more perilous. A religious people may be enslaved, but an irreligious people never can be free. The very first element of rational liberty, a deep sense of responsibility, is wanting: there are no checks to selfishness, no incentives to disinterested conduct. This also was the era of astrologers, sorcerers, and magicians. Lucan introduces the astrologer Figulus, predicting the

horrors of the civil wars, and gives a summary of his astrological doctrines, which is a valuable exposition of the nature of that form of superstition, and of the influence which it had acquired in Rome:

But Figulus * exclaims (to science bred,
And in the gods' mysterious secrets read;
Whom nor Egyptian Memphis' sons excelled,
Nor with more skill the rolling orb beheld;
Well could he judge the labours of the sphere,
And calculate the just revolving year):
"The stars," he cries, "are in confusion hurled,
And wandering Error quite misguides the world;
Or if the laws of Nature yet remain,
Some swift destruction now the Fates ordain.

* * * * *

But, God of Battles! what dost thou provide,
Who in the threatening Scorpion dost preside?
With potent wrath around thy influence streams,
And the whole monster kindles at thy beams:
While Jupiter's more gentle rays decline,
And Mercury with Venus faintly shine;
The wandering lights are darkened all, and gone,
And Mars now lords it o'er the heavens alone.
Orion's starry falchion blazing wide,
Refulgent glitters by his dreadful side.
War comes, and savage slaughter must abound,
The sword of violence shall right confound;
The blackest crimes fair virtue's name shall wear,
And impious fury rage for many a-year. †

Tiberius proscribed magic and astrology, but it was because he dreaded the use his indignant subjects

* Figulus was an intimate friend of Cicero. There was a story, mentioned by Suetonius as a common report, that he predicted to Octavius, the father of Augustus Cæsar, the reign of his son over the Roman people. Octavius ordered the boy to be put to death, but Figulus found means to divert him from his intention. "There are cases," says Benjamin Constant, "in which we may lament that a crime was omitted."
† Rowe's Lucan, i.

might make of them. A herd of magicians and astrologers were his companions at Capreæ, where he lived, as Juvenal says,

Coop'd in a narrow isle, observing dreams,
With flattering wizards, and erecting schemes.

Nero invited sorcerers to Rome, that he might be initiated in their secrets. Adrian was a professed student of witchcraft. Alexander Severus, Dioclesian, and Constantine before his conversion, endeavoured by magical practices to dive into the secrets of futurity. Spells and incantations were employed by all classes to obtain the aid of the mysterious powers of darkness; and it seemed as if men had abandoned the worship of the gods to follow that of devils. Lucian's description of the influence acquired by the great impostor Alexander of Paphlagonia, would appear an incredible romance, were it not confirmed by all the historians of his age, and attested by existing medals struck in honour of the impostor.

"Such then," says Constant, "was the aspect of humanity. Infidelity vaunted itself on having delivered man from prejudices, errors, and fears; and all possible fears, all prejudices, and all errors, seemed to be unchained at once. The empire of reason was proclaimed, and all the world was seized with madness; systems were based on calculation addressed to self-interest, permitted pleasure, recommended repose; and never were delusions more disgraceful, tumults more disorderly, and sufferings more poignant, until at last the miserable generation seemed willing to descend

* Dryden's Juvenal, Sat. x.

into the infernal regions, to escape an earth from which the Divinity had been banished.”*

In such a condition it was impossible that the human mind should long remain. Mankind discovered the value of a positive religion so soon as they tried to do without it: scepticism, and its ally credulity, had proved such severe masters, that men made an effort to get back to the polytheism of their forefathers, which, as belief was not in their power, was utterly impossible. They revived the forms, but the doctrines were gone; and in fact, when we examine the writers who flourished in the last age of polytheism, we discover obvious proofs that their doctrines were very nearly pure theism, and therefore utterly inconsistent with their forms. The philosophic system generally called Neo-Platonism was an attempt, and not a very infelicitous one, to combine both; but it wanted authority and consistency sufficient to elevate it into a rule of conduct; it proclaimed the want of some form which would embody the doctrine of the Divine Unity as the first great principle of the religious system, but it did not supply the deficiency. Reason continued hesitating before the gaping void, until Revelation came to its aid, and exhibited Christianity as “the divine system” for which the world had long wished, without comprehending the nature of its desires.

* Du Polytheisme, ii. 128. See also the Sixth Satire of Juvenal for a description of the arts practised by the fortune-tellers and sorcerers at Rome, too long and too disgusting to be quoted.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY, AND ITS
INFLUENCE ON CIVILIZATION.

IN all the ancient systems of religion previous to the introduction of Christianity, we find that more attention was paid to the physical attributes of the Deity than to his spiritual nature. That this should be the case in polytheism is not wonderful, but it is equally so in the purest systems of theism to which unassisted reason has attained. Poets and philosophers have celebrated the Almighty power that causes the sun to shed its rays over the earth, but not the beneficence which bade it shine on the evil and the good: they have praised the wisdom which directed the rain to fall in its due season, but not the tender mercy which sent it equally on the just and the unjust. Under the patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations, the Divine power always appears more prominent than the Divine goodness: in Jehovah's address to Job, all the subjects introduced refer to the attribute of Omnipotence, and even the passage in which the moral government of mankind is claimed, will be found to display the absolute sovereignty rather than the merciful care of the Deity:

Gird up now thy loins like a hero;
I will question thee, and answer thou me.
Canst thou render my purpose void?
Wilt thou condemn me, to justify thyself?

Hast thou an arm like that of God?
Canst thou thunder with a voice like his?
Deck thyself now with majesty and excellence :
Array thyself in glory and beauty.
Pour forth the fury of thy wrath ;
Look on the haughty, and humble him ;
Look on the proud, and prostrate him ;
Crush down the wicked to the dust,
Hide them in the earth together,
Cover their faces with dishonour ;
Then I will confess to thy praise,
That thine own right hand can save thee.*

The patriarchal creed of the Divine Unity was greatly enlarged under the Mosaic dispensation, and the moral government of the universe was more prominently brought forward as an article of faith ; but still the attribute of power was more frequently mentioned than goodness or mercy, and even the declaration of the paternal protection accorded by the Deity to his creatures is introduced by an assertion of the terrors of his sovereignty. "The Lord your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, which regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward : He doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow, loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment.†

In the prophetical books, particularly in those written after the captivity, the spiritual nature of the Deity is more fully developed than in the Mosaic records ; but we nowhere find it depicted with the force and univer-

* Job xli. 13—20, Wemyss's Translation. I cannot for the last time refer to this work without adding, that during the many years that I have been a student of Biblical Hebrew, I have met with no version of a book of the Old Testament superior to Wemyss's Job in accuracy, elegance, and depth of information.

† Deuteronomy x. 17, 18.

sality that belongs to the Gospels; everywhere in the Old Testament the material manifestations predominate over the mental.* "The remarkable passage," says Mr. Milman, "in which God is described as revealing himself to Elijah,—neither in the strong wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the still small voice—may be considered, we will not say prophetic, but singularly significant of the sensations to be excited in the human mind by the successive revelations of the Deity."†

The two great corruptions to which polytheism led, were grovelling superstition in the vulgar, and scepticism in the philosopher. It is an error to suppose that the sublime speculations of Plato were influential, even in the schools; the colder reasoning of Aristotle exercised much wider sway. But notwithstanding the great difference between their systems, it will be found that the physical attributes of Deity almost alone come under consideration. Plato represents the Supreme as an absolute governor, delegating the regulation of the world to inferior intelligence; Aristotle goes farther, and denies a special providence, and any relation, mediate or immediate, between man and God. In fact

* Bauer's *Theology of the Old Testament* historically traces the history of the Jewish conceptions respecting the nature of Deity, from the days of Moses to those of Malachi. His object is manifestly to weaken the claims of the Holy Scriptures to inspiration, but in fact he rather confirms their divine authority, by shewing that each successive revelation was accommodated to the state of intelligence of the age in which it was made. But for the perverse habit of treating the Bible as a book, instead of a succession of books, the imperfections in the earlier descriptions of the Divinity would become evidences of scriptural veracity, instead of furnishing cavillers with grounds of objection.

† Milman's *History of Christianity*, i. 45.

his reasonings lead to an identification of Deity with the physical laws of the universe and the moral order of the world, rather than its Cause. This view was not very different from the Fate or Necessity of the Stoics, and it was based on the same reasoning that led a modern German philosopher to the verge of atheism.*

A second characteristic of the notions formed of the Divinity by ancient nations, before the introduction of Christianity, is, that they were *localised*. In the Old Testament, Jehovah is represented as peculiarly, though not exclusively, the God of his chosen people; but the Jews themselves perverted the doctrine into the belief that they alone were the objects of his peculiar care. The religions of all the states round the Mediterranean were interwoven with their political constitutions, inso-much that they appear to have believed that the protection of their gods depended on the possession of citizenship. The several deities introduced into Rome, from Greece and Egypt, were in some sort *naturalized*; and it was hoped that they would be thus induced to bestow their favours upon the state that had adopted them. Each religion was separate and national: no man was invited to become a proselyte unless he also wished to become a citizen. Religion, like policy, was designed for masses, for the collective body of the state, and it took no heed of any persons beyond the pale. Rome destroyed the various nationalities, but it had nothing to substitute in their stead. The world, or at

* Fichte. So far as I can understand this philosopher's system, he considers the notion of Deity to be a personification of the immutable laws that govern the universe, with the notions of power and will superadded. I cannot comprehend his reasoning, in the attempt to reconcile these notions with immutability.

least the Roman world, felt an aching void, which Christianity alone could remedy.

But though Christianity was suited to the circumstances of the time, it by no means follows that Christianity was created by these circumstances. To use the language of Mr. Milman,* "I strongly protest against the opinion, that the *origin* of the religion can be attributed, according to a theory adopted by many foreign writers, to the gradual and spontaneous development of the human mind. Christ is as much beyond his own age, as his own age is beyond the darkest barbarism. The time, though fitted to receive, could not by any combination of prevalent opinions, or by any conceivable course of moral improvement, have produced Christianity. The conception of the human character of Jesus, and the simple principles of the new religion, as they were in direct opposition to the predominant opinions and temper of his own countrymen, so they stand completely alone in the history of our race; and as imaginary, no less than real, altogether transcend the power of man's moral conceptions. Supposing the Gospels purely fictitious, or that, like the "Cyropædia" of Xenophon,† they embody on a ground-

* This chapter was sketched, and a great part of it written, before I had seen Milman's History of Christianity. I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous, to express the pleasure I have derived from finding that I have frequently arrived at his conclusions, though not by the same line of reasoning. In a work like the present, it would be idle to discuss the question of plagiarism; coincidences of thought, and even expression, may be expected from those who investigate the same subject; and I should rather abandon all claim to originality, than be suspected of such folly as neglecting to avail myself of the researches of Mr. Milman.

† The author must record his dissent from Mr. Milman's estimate of the Cyropædia.

work of fact, the highest moral and religious notions to which man had attained, and shew the utmost ideal perfection of the divine and human nature, they can be accounted for, according to my judgment, on none of the ordinary principles of human nature. When we behold Christ standing in the midst of the wreck of old religious institutions, and building, or rather at one word commanding to arise, the simple and harmonious structure of the new faith, which seems equally adapted for all ages—a temple to which nations in the highest degree of civilization may bring their offerings of pure hearts, virtuous dispositions, universal charity,—our natural emotion is the recognition of the Divine goodness, in the promulgation of this beneficent code of religion; and adoration of that Being, in whom that Divine goodness is thus embodied and made comprehensible to the faculties of man. In the language of the apostles, God is in Christ, reconciling the world to himself.”*

The great Revelation, which at once destroyed all the evils that arose from exclusive attention to the physical attributes of Deity, was contained in a single sentence—“GOD IS A SPIRIT, AND THEY THAT WORSHIP HIM MUST WORSHIP HIM IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH.” This is an announcement that at once exalts Deity, and elevates humanity. God appears as a benignant Being, ready to forgive the sincere penitent, to receive him as a tender father would an erring child; but he is to be propitiated, not by sacrificial bribes, not by prostrations and servile homage, but by purity of soul; he claims the service of the mind, not of the body: he demands

* Milman's Christianity, i. 50.

the intellect with all its powers, and the heart with all its affections.* Neither birth, nor fortune, nor caste, nor colour, are required as qualifications for the favour and mercy of this Saviour: it is only necessary that the heart and soul should feel the want of his aid.

Come unto me, all ye that labour and are burthened;
 And I will give you rest:
 Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me;
 For I am meek and lowly in heart;
 And ye shall find rest unto your souls:
 For my yoke is easy, and my burthen light.†

But this invitation had reference not only to the life that now is, but also to that which is to come. An infinite existence was revealed at the close of our limited and transitory career, the peculiar character of which depended upon purity or impurity of conduct at this side of the grave. The importance and value of life itself was thus raised; it was no longer bounded and limited by "our little now," but was to be estimated

* It is rather strange that some of the German divines should assert that there is no reference to repentance, as a mental process, in the Old Testament; we take the two following passages, almost at random, in which the doctrine is set forth as clearly as possible:

Therefore also now, saith the Lord, *turn ye even to me with all your heart*, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and *rend your heart, and not your garments*, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil.—Joel ii. 12, 13.

O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise. For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it; thou delightest not in burnt offering. *The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart*, O God, thou wilt not despise. Psalm li. 15—17.

† Matt. xi. 28, as arranged by the late Bishop Jebb, in his Sacred Literature.

in its relation to infinity and eternity. Thus then at length it could be said :

Life is real ! life is earnest !
And the grave is not its goal ;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.

“ My kingdom,” says Christ, “ is not of this world ;” and during the whole course of his career, he carefully avoided any discussion which might lead to political subjects,* yet we shall find that never was there any political change at all comparable in extent and importance to that wrought in the world by the introduction of Christianity ; and we shall also discover, by a little inquiry, that the action of Christ’s disclaimer on the peculiar state of things then existing, was the very circumstance which to a great extent wrought this mighty political change.

* The case of tribute-money is not an exception. Christ perceived “ the wickedness ” of the Pharisees when they thought to involve him in a political dispute, which was one of the most cunningly devised snares ever laid by Jewish malice. His reply is not a rule of conduct, but a simple inference from existing circumstances. The right of coining has ever been the established symbol of sovereignty in Eastern countries, and consequently the Jews recognised Cæsar as their emperor by allowing his coin to be the regular currency of the country. The image on the coin, therefore, directly decided the question, for it shewed that the person represented was in possession of the supreme power, and that therefore it would be wise to pay taxes, unless there was some hope of successful revolt. His reply only suggested what was expedient under the circumstances of Palestine, but affirmed nothing one way or the other respecting the lawfulness of resistance. In fact we find in the Talmud that the Jewish doctors taught, that to admit the impression and inscription of any prince on the current coin, involves an acknowledgment of subjection to him ; and every one who has studied oriental history, must know that this is an invariable rule throughout the East.

It is a remarkable peculiarity of Christianity, that its divine founder not only abstained from discussing general politics, but almost from every question which does not directly affect religion or morality. "Neither science, nor industry, nor law, whether civil or penal, nor the principles which govern the physical welfare of society and the well-being of nations, the exchange of their labour,—in a word, what we call political economy,—nor nature, literature or poetry, nor metaphysics proper, except in so far as they are connected with religion—for instance, the immortality of the soul, were ever discussed by Christ."* He has formed no system of ethics, he has not pointed out the moral relations of individuals to society and to each other; he has supplied motives and sanctions to our duties, but he has not discussed the nature and extent of obligation in any one form or aspect of society. "Our Lord and his apostles enforced such duties as were the most liable to be neglected,—corrected some prevailing errors,—gave some particular directions, which particular occasions called for,—but laid down *no set of rules* for the conduct of a Christian: they laid down Christian *principles* instead; they sought to implant Christian *dispositions*. And this is the more remarkable, inasmuch as we may be sure, from the nature of man, that precise regulations, even though somewhat tedious to learn, and burdensome to observe, would have been highly acceptable to their converts. Hardly any restraint is so irksome to man (*i.e.* to "the natural man") as to be left to his own discretion, yet still required to regulate his doctrine according to certain principles, and to steer his course through the intricate

* Lieber's Political Ethics, 404.

channels of life, with a constant vigilant exertion of his moral judgment. It is much more agreeable to human indolence (though, at first sight, the contrary may be supposed) to have a complete system of laws laid down, which are to be observed according to the letter—not to the spirit; and which, as long as man adheres to them, afford both a consolatory assurance of safety, and an unrestrained liberty as to every point not determined by them; than to be called upon for incessant watchfulness, careful and candid self-examination, and studious cultivation of certain moral dispositions.”*

It must not, however, be inferred from this statement, as some have done, that the study of moral philosophy is either unnecessary or pernicious.† In the wide regions of moral action and peril which surround mankind, and which the progress of science every day enlarges, affording scope for the development of higher energies, and at the same time exposing us to new and untried temptations, it is well for us to study what rules of conduct have been sanctioned by the experience of ages, and how far they are in accordance with the voice of conscience and the precepts of revelation. No one can doubt the enormous influence

* Archbishop Whately on the Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul, Essay v. Sec. 5. The reader will find a full account of the *moral instruction* of Scripture in the 2d, 3d, and 5th of his Grace's Essays on the Peculiarities of Christianity, and in the 8th Essay of the volume just quoted. He will there obtain the most complete examination that has yet appeared, of the motives inculcated—the examples proposed—and the precepts delivered.

† Many persons will believe such a caution unnecessary; but in my own experience I have found that many object to making moral philosophy a part of school-education, because they feared that the ethical text-book would supersede the New Testament.

of circumstances in the development of the passions, feelings, and moral principles: the Author of nature and of revelation has provided certain means for evolving our moral powers, but he has placed the means at our own disposal. We may employ them, we may pervert them, we may neglect them altogether; for neither the lessons of nature nor of revelation were designed to supersede the efforts of reason;—their proper purpose is to stimulate and guide the exertions of our faculties. “The fields, untilled,” says a late writer, “will not produce the yellow corn—the uncultivated intellect cannot lay up stores of knowledge—nor will the heart reap spontaneous virtue or excellence.”* There is a beauty in morality not less real than the loveliness of external nature; its charm is felt, even before we learn to distinguish virtue by its name; and which, even to the guilty, who have abandoned it, still retains a sort of beauteous but terrific aspect, which they would gladly forget, but which no effort can banish from their memory. It was this which dictated the sublime exclamation of the Stoic poet:

Great Father of the Gods, when for our crimes
 Thou send'st some heavy vengeance on the times;
 Some tyrant-king the terror of his age,
 The type and true vicegerent of thy rage;
 Thus punish him: set virtue in his sight
 With all her charms adorn'd, with all her graces bright;
 But set her distant, make her pale to see,
 His gains outweigh'd by lost felicity.†

The study of moral science, in fact, becomes more necessary to us from the circumstances which render

* M'Cormac's *Philosophy of Human Nature*, p. 422.

† Persius. Satire iii. Dryden's Translation.

its absence in the Gospel-scheme evidence of the vast superiority of Christianity over every other system of religion. A set of rules propounded nineteen centuries ago in Judea would either have been so far in advance of the existing state of society as to be wholly inapplicable, or if it suited such a condition of humanity it could not be accommodated to present times without being so clogged, deformed, and altered, by interpretations, commentaries, explanations and additions, that like the Jews of old, we should inevitably "make void the commandments of God by our traditions." The experiment has been almost invariably tried in every system of human legislation; it is particularly manifest in Mohammedanism, where the traditions have very nearly superseded the Koran altogether as the source of the Moral Law. It is worthy of notice as a strange instance of human aberration, that this peculiarity of Christianity, the absence of systematic rules and observances, which renders tradition completely superfluous, is very generally the ground taken to establish the necessity of Christian tradition by the advocates of its authority.

I am not aware that it has ever been remarked as a peculiarity of Christianity, that its Founder does not dwell on the soothing and elevating sentiments to be derived from the contemplation of the power and wisdom of God as manifested in the works of creation, but I have been always accustomed to regard this omission as a strong mark and proof of the universality of the Christian religion. The force of such topics would depend greatly on climate, on the amount of civilization possessed by the nation, and the quantity of intelligence

in the individual hearers. Such lessons would have been limitations to Christ's instructions; but nothing that he has taught or ordained can be an obstacle to his religion being adopted at once, and by all classes of society; the lowliest slave may receive it as well as the mightiest sovereign—"the wayfaring man though a fool" is as little liable "to err therein" as the wisest philosopher.

Here again it is necessary to guard against being misunderstood. Christ, neither by precept nor example taught us indifference to the beauties, harmonies, and sublimities of nature; some of his most persuasive lessons and affecting illustrations were derived from those mute preachers, the flowers of the field,* "the lilies that toil not, neither do they spin," and yet are more gorgeously arrayed than Solomon in all his glory—the fields white with the ripened harvest—the vineyard with all its varieties of labour and enjoyment. A garden was his favourite resort for contemplation, and a garden was chosen for the place of his sepulture, amid the flowers which the American poet justly calls

Emblems of our own great resurrection,
Emblems of the bright and better land.

The asceticism which closes its eyes against the loveliness of nature, and which boasts that it can pass

* Wondrous truths, and manifold as wondrous,
God hath written in those stars above;
But not less in the bright flowerets under us
Stands the revelation of his love.
Bright and glorious is that revelation,
Written all over this great world of ours;
Making evident our own creation
In these stars of earth—these golden flowers.
Longfellow's Voices of the Night.

through the most picturesque and delightful scenery without deriving more pleasure from the landscape than could have been obtained from a journey in a sandy desert, is assuredly not any of the forms of piety recommended by "the Author and Finisher of our faith." On this subject I shall beg leave to extract an eloquent passage from a volume of essays, recently published by the Rev. Henry Woodward of Fethard. "There is a mere animal enjoyment of natural beauties, common even to those who are lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God. They can smell the fragrance of each herb and flower, inhale the balmy breeze of heaven, and cull the choicest of nature's fruits, and cool for a moment a feverish thirst at her streams of living water—and all this may be done as a mere gratification of the senses, as part of that round of animal enjoyments which form the whole of their existence.

"But in minds of another cast there is a habit of association formed, by which every pleasure that natural objects afford assumes the character of devotion. To them, to leave the calls and business of the world, and withdraw to the calm retreat and silent shade, is to pass at once into an element of communion with heaven. It is not that from a conscientious principle they seize the moment of disengagement to meditate on eternity, and pray to their Father who is in secret. No: it is because they see as it were, an impress of God upon the scene; and all that they behold speaks of him. It is with them none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven. Nature bears them upward by an unperceived and gentle motion, into the felt presence of nature's God. That this is not as some

would say, mere sentimentality, *I know*: for I have seen the feeling put to a test, at that solemn moment when false notions vanish like the chaff which the wind scattereth over the earth. It was my lot, many years ago, to attend a friend unspeakably dear to me upon his dying bed. He was one who loved all that is pure in nature, and who moreover loved the Lord his God with all his heart. But a few hours before his departure a bunch of his favourite flowers was brought to him. The sorrowing group around him watched with tender anxiety, to see whether he would notice, and in ~~what~~ manner he would now be affected by them. But they were not left long in suspense. For no sooner did he catch the well-known fragrance, than he lifted his eyes to heaven, and almost with his last breath exclaimed—“Silent hymns.”*

From the peculiarities we have noticed, it appears that Christianity preached to man, a spiritual God,—not attached to any nationality, whether of language, country, or custom,—the Father of all men, demanding the obedience of a child from each, and requiring each individual separately and for himself, to effect a renovation of all his moral feelings and principles of action. It was the first time that religion addressed itself to man in his personality, and recognised that every individual had a moral being of his own: but Christianity did more; it shewed that high responsibilities were attached to this individuality, and to it only, for it declared that the future eternity of happiness and misery would not be assigned by the Supreme Judge at the day of final reckoning on the ground of being born in

* Sequel to the Shunamite, p. 11.

a certain country or descended of a certain class, but on purity of soul, producing purity of life and conduct.

The moral value of the individual was thus immeasurably raised, and the influence of the state, as it existed in all the ancient systems of civilization, was diminished in nearly the same proportion. The state was no longer all, and everything; a wider and more extended sphere of activity was opened, beyond its limits, in man's direct relations to the Divinity, and consequently in his relations to all mankind, the children of the same heavenly Father. A twofold existence was bestowed on man at the same moment; he became something more than a citizen, he became *Himself*,—a moral being, called upon by the Almighty to fulfil his duties, and receive his reward according to his works; and while his moral responsibilities were thus restricted to his individuality, he received a new being in his moral sensibilities, which were no longer confined to a single state, but extended over the whole wide fellowship of humanity.

This revolution was neither social nor political, but it nevertheless contained the elements of important changes in all the relations of private life, and in all the departments of public administration. The recognition of individual rights was not confined to one sex. Woman became a moral being as well as man, and in her relations to the Deity, had an independent and equal existence with her lord. The relations between the sexes might not have been immediately changed by any open and public enactment, but the female sex was greatly elevated in influence and moral power. It is very probable that the greater freedom of thought

and action tacitly conceded to the Christian women may have suggested the charges of immorality brought against the early believers by their pagan adversaries; just as Mohammedans, on their first visit to England, are so shocked by the free exposure of the female face, that they believe and declare morality to be impossible in the country.

The slave was a still greater gainer. Christianity did not break his fetters, but it recognised him as equal with his master in the eye of God; and it taught the master that the slave was a man. The being hitherto regarded only as a piece of merchandize, regained his personality when he was brought within the sphere of Christian charity,—when he was confessed to be a sharer in the blessings of the same redemption, and a co-heir to the same glorious immortality. Christianity did not give him freedom, but it conferred upon him and upon his fellows the principles from which their freedom was eventually and necessarily derived.

When all national religions had made Rome their common metropolis, they neutralized each other. One power alone seemed real and independent—that of the emperor; and as a necessary consequence from the state-system of the ancients, this power was invested with the attributes of Divine Majesty. Temples were erected, altars dedicated, sacrifices offered, and oaths made to the emperor; an asylum was offered at his statues. In the general degradation, when alone such absurdities would be tolerated, there can be little doubt that the worship of the sovereign was, as Tertullian informs us, the most zealous and fervent, at least in outward show. Here, there was no religion of the

state, but religion and despotism were actually one. Such degradation could not be endured by man, conscious of his individuality and responsibility, taught to believe the equality of all men before God, and persuaded that the person who thus claimed the attributes of divinity should stand at the Last Day, unmarked and undistinguished, in the crowd assembled to hear their final doom pronounced by the Supreme Judge.

While man was part of the state, and nothing more, it was possible for him to remain ignorant of the deep degradation and slavish abasement of such homage to the personification of the state. It was far different when he learned that he had a separate existence, and an immortal soul. He saw that there was something beyond the state—higher, greater, more ennobling—and he no longer felt willing to sacrifice the state to the moral dignity of his nature. The narrow limits of the ancient communities had generated the corrupting principle, that individuals existed for the state; but the enlarging power of Christianity evolved the truth, that the state exists only for its members. This was a principle of life and liberty, under every and any form of government: absolutism was, as we have seen, a vice equally common to monarchies, oligarchies, aristocracies, and democracies, for the administrations of each might be, and was so directed, as to serve a party, no matter whether a minority or majority, by a sacrifice of the rights of the rest of the community; but Christianity raised the man above the citizen: no longer limited in his view to the precincts of a single community:—

Man looked aloft, and with erected eyes
Beheld his own hereditary skies.*

* Garth's Ovid, Book i.

The sense of personality, and the feeling of individual responsibility, are among the most ennobling and civilizing principles that could be suggested to man, but probably there is no element of civilization more difficult to be retained. It is ever necessary to have "the loins girded about, and the lamps burning," to be watchful and vigilant, lest the temptation of substituting dependence on others for personal exertion should prevail. Every great movement that has been made for the advantage of humanity, has been more or less frustrated by the natural propensity to keep out of view the necessity for individual labour. The forms in which this propensity appears, are as various as the pursuits of mankind. From the man of business, who hopes that by some prosperous traffic, or grand speculation, in which others shall bear the toil and he reap the profit, all the labour of life may be accumulated in a small portion of it, to the legislator who aspires to direct the affairs of a nation by blindly following in the tract of a leader, avoiding the toil of thinking—from the school-boy who relies on his companion for the completion of his exercises, to the adult Christian who looks to his priest or his church for his salvation; all and each are eager to get rid of individual labour and personal responsibility, and to perform the duties of life by proxy.

"In all ages and all countries," says Archbishop Whately, "man, through the disposition he inherits from our first parents, is more desirous of a *quiet* and approving, than of a vigilant and tender conscience—desirous of *security* instead of *safety*;—studious to escape the *thought* of spiritual danger more than the danger itself; and to induce, at any price, some one to

assure him confidently that he is safe—to prophesy unto him smooth things, “and to speak peace, even when there is no peace.*

But this propensity is not peculiar to religion; it meets us everywhere—in literature, in science, in business and in politics; in every department, men are found anxious to be exonerated from the laws of industry and self-denial which they feel imposed upon them by their individuality, and to transfer their responsibility to a review, a teacher, a speculation, or a leader.

It is a well-known law of our nature, that passive habits are more readily developed than active habits, and also that they tend to check the growth of the latter. Pity is far more common than benevolence, credence than confidence, bravery than daring, speculation than enterprise; we too frequently confound those attributes together, because the passion or emotion is necessary to suggest the action; but it cannot be too often impressed upon us, that the indulgence of the emotion, without the corresponding action, is not only useless but pernicious.† It leads men to aspire to be

* Whately's *Essays*, Third Series, p. 130.

† Having already noticed the differences between active and passive habits in a former chapter, I have not dwelt upon them here; but I may quote, as a proof that sentimental pity is not necessarily allied to active benevolence, the following amusing sketch of the interior of a house in Strasburg, during the first French revolution, when the guillotine was in its most constant exercise:—“The walls were hung round with portraits of Robespierre, Marat, and the like; a great bust of Mirabeau, mutilated, with the word *Traître* underneath; lists and republican proclamations, tobacco-pipes and fire-arms. At a deal-table, stained with grease and wine, sate a gentleman with a huge pig-tail dangling down to that part of his person which immediately succeeds his back, and a red night-cap, containing a *tricolor* cockade

virtuous, charitable, humane, learned, or pious, by some means independent of their own exertions. It is a very marked peculiarity of Christianity, that its entire system, from beginning to end, is directed to check this tendency of our nature. Though the parable of the good Samaritan was likely to inspire *sentiments* of universal charity; the moral drawn from it is not sentimental charity, but active benevolence: "Go and *do* thou likewise." The necessity of personal exertion for "the working out of our salvation," is expressed in the very strongest term that language could supply: "Agonize* to enter in at the strait gate." In the parable of the ten virgins, the futility of vicarious religion is directly suggested, for the five foolish virgins would not have gone to sleep, unless they had expected some one to watch in their stead; and finally, the direct intent of the parable of the ten talents, is to display in the strongest light the necessity of personal exertion.

It is not the purpose of this work to enter into any discussion purely theological, but it is scarcely possible to examine those principles of Christianity which most influenced civilization, without incidentally touching on topics that have been the subject of much controversy,

as large as a pancake. He was smoking a short pipe, reading a little book, and sobbing as if his heart would break. Every now and then he would make brief remarks upon the personages or the incidents of his book, by which I could judge that he was a man of the very keenest sensibilities—*'ah brigand!'* *'oh malheureuse!'* *'oh Charlotte, Charlotte!'*"

It was the public executioner of the place, blubbering over the *Sorrows of Werter!*

* *Strive* in our English version, but when the authorized translation was made, *strive* had a more forcible signification than now, and one more in accordance with its substantive *strife*.

and in these points it is necessary to guard against the danger of misinterpretation.

When we assert that Christianity, by bringing forward man's individuality, tended to form habits of self-reliance and self-dependence, it is the farthest thing from our thoughts to say that it inculcates anything like self-righteousness. On the contrary, it distinctly declares that when we have done all, we should regard ourselves as unprofitable servants. But the act of so regarding ourselves is as much a portion of individuality as any other act, whether of mind or body. Christian faith is not speculative but practical, for every attribute of Deity revealed in it has some relation to man, and some reference to human conduct.* This in fact is one of the leading peculiarities of Christianity—that a full belief in it is not a speculative assent, but an active principle.

Among the idle questions discussed by the schoolmen in the Dark Ages, there was one which was a very great favourite with public disputants: "Whether is it ignition or ignited materials that constitute a fire?" A previous question should have been: can we conceive the existence of the one without the other? The greater part of the controversy respecting faith and good works is not unlike the scholastic dispute; for faith, in the Christian sense, is not a speculative belief, and still less an otiose assent, but something living, active, and practical. But how can life or activity exhibit itself, or even exist, but in action? and what is such action but works? Every one of the ancient examples of illustrious faith enumerated by St. Paul, is directly connected

* See Whately on the Peculiarities of Christianity, Essay iv. sect. i.

with the work in which that faith was embodied; as for instance, that of Abel and Abraham, in the sacrifices which they offered. Nor can we, on the other hand, ascribe goodness to any work irrespective of the motives that led to its performance. The robber recently mentioned in the newspaper, who relieved the distress of a pauper by the wayside, did not perform a good work, for his alms were designed as a bribe to prevent the discovery of the felony in which he was engaged.

Thus viewed, the controversy appears to turn on the distinction between an active principle, and its results in action; a process of refinement in abstraction, which seems of little practical value. The principle is indeed of more importance than the results, and hence a philosophic treatise on fire dwells at far greater length on the power or principle of combustion than on the phenomena exhibited by combustible materials, for these will vary with the several substances burned. In like manner, faith is more prominently set forth in Scriptures than good works, because good works must vary according to the several relations of mankind.

In what is called self-righteousness, we shall find that a very important part of self is omitted; namely, motive. The Pharisees, who deemed that they bought Divine favour by meritorious actions, adopted by this very principle a vicarious religion, for they substituted an external holiness of works for an internal purity of heart. The distinction is admirably illustrated by St. Paul, when he declares it possible for a man to bestow all his goods to feed the poor, and yet to be destitute of the principle of charity.

These observations are neither designed to raise nor

to explain controversy; their object is to guard against possible misapprehension of the importance we have ascribed to the recognition of man's individuality and personal responsibility; and the effects we have attributed to the doctrine, that man must *work* out his own salvation. "A careful and candid perusal of the Bible," says Archbishop Whately, "will sufficiently evince that at least the sacred writers themselves, were very far from conceiving that the doctrines they delivered were mere speculative matters of faith, unconnected with any change in the heart and conduct. If they inform us, that *the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men*, it is to teach us, that, *denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world*: when they describe to us, *God manifest in the flesh*, they instruct us to look to him with devout trust, and to shape our lives after the model of his perfections—*Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus*: when they preach *Christ crucified*, it is that we, while *we crucify the old man, with the affections and lusts*, may yet with grateful humility, renounce all arrogant confidence in our own merits, and look for salvation to his sacrifice—his intercession, his spiritual aid: and that while we trust in the Divine mercy for the pardon of sin, we may not attribute this pardon, purchased by such a sacrifice, to his lightly regarding sin, but may be sensible of its deadly nature, and its odiousness in God's sight: when they announce his resurrection, it is that we may be exhorted also to rise from the death of sin to a life of holiness, that *being risen with Christ, we may set our affections on things above*; and may be encouraged to

look forward to a final victory over the grave: and when the love of God towards us is set forth, it is given as a reason why *we ought also to love one another*, and to testify our sense of his goodness by keeping his commandments.”*

It is hoped that enough has been said to shew that by self-reliance and self-dependence, we mean trusting to what *we do* in opposition to what we *feel and believe*: for faith is a part of self, confidence in Christ’s sacrifice and intercession is a part of self, humility is a part of self; and as they belong to the inner man, they are more essentially a part of self, than any external action whatever.

Man’s sense of his own individuality and personal distinctness, is not an isolating but a social feeling; for man must have a sense of his own rights before he exhibits any respect or regard for the rights of others. The iniquitous system of special taxation,† for fitting out vessels of war, would never, and could never have been adopted by the Athenians, if every citizen felt that he had had personal rights, independent of the state. It was observed in the reign of Charles II., that those who had sold their own independence to the court, were the most stringent in preventing manifestations of independence among those subject to their influence; and every day’s experience shews us, that those who think by proxy, are very impatient of freedom of thought in others. Among the early Christians, the sense of individual rights became a bond of affection, of which the connecting links were mutual respect, so

* Whately’s Essays on Peculiarities of Christianity, Essay iv. sect. 5.

† Λειτουργία.

that it became quite a proverb—"Behold how these Christians love one another!"

We have endeavoured to shew that the great element of civilization developed by Christianity was the individual importance of man, the lesson, that man is not only a member of a community or part of a state, but that he is also separately and emphatically *himself*; and we have also added some explanations, not so much for the purpose of evolving all the important consequences that might be deduced from such a principle, as guarding against the danger of misinterpretation, and the deduction of inferences neither designed nor intended, which might arise from a less ample statement of the doctrine. It may now be permitted to inquire whether the five secondary causes, to which Gibbon ascribes the success of Christianity in his well-known Fifteenth Chapter, instead of being what he represents them, auxiliaries independent of Christianity, are not in fact results of the great principle which we have shewn to have been exclusively developed by Christianity itself. Such an inquiry is certainly connected with our subject; for the spread of Christianity was the outward manifestation of its influence on the condition of society, that is, on civilization.

The first cause assigned by the historian, is—"The inflexible, and if we may use the expression, the intolerant zeal of the Christians, derived, it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow and unsocial spirit which, instead of inviting, had deterred the Gentiles from embracing the law of Moses."

This statement of a cause, instead of being a simple proposition, contains in it an insidious assumption

which will not bear the slightest scrutiny. What proof is there that Christian zeal emanated from Judaism? and how can its derivative character be assumed as self-evident, when it is confessed that the very essence and animating spirit of Jewish zeal was never an attribute of the Christian? The harmony and tolerance ascribed to paganism is a mere chimera: "a setter forth of strange gods" was regarded as a criminal in every ancient state; it was the charge brought against Socrates in Athens, and the Bacchanalians in Rome; it was repeatedly forbidden, not merely by augurs and pontiffs, but by decrees of the senate and edicts of the emperors. Foreign gods were nevertheless introduced, for no system of polytheism had sufficient strength to resist the encroachment of other systems; the harmony and toleration ascribed to the systems of paganism, were forced upon them by the irresistible force of circumstances; priests and rulers struggled against them, but they struggled in vain. Christian emperors overthrew heathen statues, forbade pagan practices, and sometimes inflicted civil penalties on idolaters: but Paulus Æmilius with his own hands wielded a hatchet to overthrow the altars of Isis and Serapis; the Roman senate forbade Lutatius to consult the Prenestine oracles, and Caius Cornelius ordered the Chaldæans to leave Italy within ten days under pain of death.*

The Christians may therefore have borrowed their zeal from the pagans just as easily as from the Jews; and they would have received it just as inflexible, and just as intolerant from one as from the other.

But Christian zeal was essentially different from that

* See Valerius Maximus, lib. iii. cap. 3.

of either Pagan or Jew. It was not connected with the glory or prosperity of a caste, country, or community; it sought to promote the happiness of man. Its inflexibility was the result of its individuality; it was within the man, and made part and parcel of his existence; its intolerance of other systems arose not from itself, but from them; because the direct purpose of every ancient system, was to crush and destroy man's individuality, to deprive him of all personality, whether civil or religious, and to merge him in the state. To comprehend the first manifestations of Christian zeal, we must see the zeal which animated the persecutors of Christianity. It was not a religious feeling, either with Jew or Pagan:—"The Romans will take away our name and nation;"—"A refusal of adoration to the emperor is disloyalty;"—"The fall of the old Roman religion involves that of the Roman dominion:"—such were the motives that urged Jewish priests, Roman emperors, and ignorant mobs to persecute the new religion. Assuredly the Christians could not tolerate any system which, in its very essence, was hostile to their existence: had they not overthrown Paganism, it would have destroyed them. Paganism, embodied in the state, demanded to be all and every thing, and it was, consequently, the exclusive principle. Christianity only required that something more than the state should be conceded to humanity; and it would be hard to call it intolerant, because it refused to submit to intolerance.

When we thus view Christian zeal, we find that it possesses no derivative marks—that on the contrary, it is strikingly original; and that it was naturally

evolved from a principle peculiar to Christianity—the strong assertion of man's individuality.

Gibbon's second cause is thus stated:—"the doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth." Though the historian does not assert that this cause was external to Christianity, but, on the contrary, acknowledges it to be a peculiarity of the Gospel system, he omits, or misrepresents the principle which gave that doctrine life and efficacy. He says, "When the promise of eternal happiness was proposed to mankind, on condition of *adopting the faith*, and of *observing the precepts of the Gospel*, it is no wonder that such an advantageous offer should have been accepted by great numbers of every rank and every province in the Roman empire." He does not tell us that this faith was something far beyond a speculative belief, and that these precepts were infinitely more than a ritual of outward observances, or an injunction of certain actions. He does not tell us that the condition was personal faith, personal holiness, purity of soul: not a condition to be effected by some means, once and for ever; but extending throughout the whole of life, and requiring perpetual vigilance for its full performance. It was this condition, which the historian has so strangely misstated—this direct demand on man, in his individuality, which gave the doctrine its vitality and force. It was not rendered acceptable to man, as the historian insinuates, by the facility of the conditions on which eternal salvation could be procured; for these conditions required perpetual vigilance and perpetual exertion; but it was rendered suitable to

man by evoking the slumbering energies, which alone could maintain such incessant labour and incessant caution.

The third cause mentioned by the historian, is,—“the miraculous powers ascribed to the Christian church.” If the mere ascription of miraculous powers to any person or body would suffice to produce the effects which the historian enumerates, the followers of Simon Magus, of Apollonius Tyaneus, the Jewish exorcists, and the Roman sorcerers, should have possessed more influence than we know they ever attained. But the miracles wrought by our Lord, in at least a majority of instances, were not addressed to the nation or the world as mere attestations of his authority,—they were addressed to the heart as well as to the understanding, and conveyed a moral lesson, in addition to an evidence. Hence faith was required as a condition in those on whom the miracle of healing was wrought; and miraculous signs were refused to those who demanded them merely to gratify curiosity or satisfy doubt. Simple exhibitions of miraculous power could scarcely convince a perverse and wicked generation:—“If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.” They would set about accounting for the phenomena by some popular theory, as the Jews actually did,—“He casteth out demons through Beelzebub, the chief of the demons.” In almost every miracle of Christ, there is a direct reference to man’s personality:—“Thy faith hath made thee whole,”—“O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt.” This peculiarity of Christ’s miracles essentially distinguishes them from

all the signs and wonders to which impostors have laid claim. They were connected with man's individuality, and were not exhibitions of power, for the mere sake of display. The belief in them did not merely extort an involuntary assent to the doctrine taught, but made that doctrine influential on life and practice. Thus viewed, the ascription of such miraculous power to the Founder of the Christian faith, is a peculiarity of that faith, and intimately connected with its great civilizing element — the elevation of the personality and responsibility of every man for himself.

The fourth of Gibbon's causes is—"the pure and austere morals of the Christians." Two very distinct things are here classed together, purity and austerity, in all fairness it is necessary to treat them separately. Purity of life is conceded to the early Christians, and we have seen that the direct object of their system was to produce purity of heart and soul as the source for rectitude of conduct. But, says the historian with strange misapprehension, "the Christians allured into their party the most atrocious criminals who, as soon as they were touched by a sense of remorse, were easily persuaded to wash away in the waters of baptism, the guilt of their past conduct, for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation." This sentence is doubly false: it is untrue that expiation for the most monstrous crimes that can be conceived was refused in the heathen temples, and it is untrue that baptism was ever represented as a complete expiatory rite. I can find no historical evidence for the assertion, that the Christians "allured into their party the most atrocious criminals;" on the contrary, all the early converts whom

I have been able to trace by name, appear before their conversion, above the moral average of their Jewish or Pagan brethren. Furthermore, the inference deduced by the historian as an incontrovertible truth appears to me contradicted by all experience. He says, "as these criminals emerged from sin and superstition to the glorious hope of immortality, they resolved to devote themselves to a life not only of virtue, but of penitence. The desire of perfection became the ruling passion of their souls; and it is well known that while reason embraces a cold mediocrity, our passions hurry us with rapid violence over the space which lies between the most opposite extremes." This reasoning might be applicable, if Christianity were a vicarious instead of a personal religion; or if repentance were a mere change of action, and not of the principles of conduct. It is certainly true that many atrocious criminals, when the day of their execution drew nigh, terrified by the near approach of death and judgment, have persuaded themselves and others of the sincerity of their repentance. But what would have been the result, if this sincerity had been tried by a pardon? The colony in New South Wales could give a very mournful answer. It would be well if those who publish the narratives of such conversions, would reflect on the danger of representing Christianity as a spell or a charm, and not as a principle which should pervade the whole of man's existence.*

The purity of morals of the early Christian arose from his having purified the heart with its affections

* "One example of death-bed repentance," says an eminent divine, "is recorded in the Gospels, that none might despair; and only one, that none might presume."

and lusts; his perseverance was ensured, because his virtue flowed from a fixed principle, wrought into his consciousness, and forming a part of his personal and individual life. Gibbon ascribes the continued morality of the early converts, to zeal for the reputation of their limited sect. Had this been an influential motive, we should certainly have found it prominent in the exhortations of the Apostles, in their epistles to the churches, and in the writings of the early Fathers. But we nowhere find Christians invited to make their conduct creditable to the church, but "to walk worthy of God who had called them unto his kingdom and glory:" and still more emphatically is the exhortation to personal purity separated from pride of sect by St. Paul, "let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another."

This purity was not austerity; there is no doubt that austere practices were among the earliest corruptions of Christianity, and unfortunately, just as little, that they are among the latest. But so far were they from contributing to the success of the Gospel, that they did not acquire any strength until after the Gospel had become triumphant. Pliny's description of the early Christians represents their religious system as simple and cheerful, and assuredly there is no sanction for austerities in the New Testament.

The last of the five causes which we have to examine is—"the union and discipline of the Christian church, which gradually formed an independent and increasing state in the heart of the Roman empire." The short answer to this assertion is, that in the early history of Christianity no such unity as that for which he con-

tends existed. It is one of the most remarkable peculiarities of Christianity, and as Archbishop Whately has shewn, one of the most signal proofs of its divine origin, that it contains no revealed system of articles of faith, no liturgy, and no ecclesiastical canons; in short, nothing that could hold together all Christians as a party, no provisions for uniformity of worship or discipline.* The churches were founded independently, and governed independently, long before they became a federative republic; and their federation was long maintained, on terms of mutual equality, before a claim was made to precedence by any. There was however a principle of union and discipline, deeply rooted in man's individuality—it was the love of the brethren, and the love of truth.

In closing this inquiry, it must not be concealed that the progress of Christianity was aided by external causes; the providential government of the world had prepared mankind for its reception; and thus the most influential cause of its success was also that of its revelation—"the fulness of the time was come."

* See *Essays on the Peculiarities*, Essay v.

CHAPTER IX.

EFFECTS PRODUCED ON CIVILIZATION BY THE
CONQUESTS OF THE BARBARIANS AND OVERTHROW
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE histories of Greece and Rome are those of our instructors in the arts and sciences, our guides in literature, and our patterns in intellectual excellence: the history of what are called the Middle Ages is that of our immediate ancestors—it might almost be said, of ourselves. Less entertaining than the records of the classic nations, the latter history is far more instructive; for we are not the children of the Greeks and Romans, we are the children of their conquerors. With those whom we have been accustomed to call the barbarous hordes from the Northern hives, began the languages which we speak, the rights which we recognise, many of the laws which we obey, and many of the prejudices more powerful than law, that exercise the widest sway over human society. But the investigation of this period in the history of mankind is a task of considerable difficulty: at its most important crisis, the Roman system of civilization was in the last stage of decrepitude, and the Teutonic system in the first stage of childhood; the helplessness of old age was placed by the side of the helplessness of infancy, and our inquiries are to be made from the dying bed and the

cradle. Under these circumstances, it can scarcely be expected that within the narrow limits of a chapter it would be possible to trace all the events which moulded the form of society, and influenced its future progress; a few of the most striking particulars, such as most tend to illustrate the immediate subject of these volumes, can alone engage our attention.

Existing monuments prove that we generally form too low an estimate of the social condition of those nations described by the Greeks and Romans as barbarians. There can be little doubt that the Germans, the Gauls, and the Britons, were unpolished, but then they were a long way from being savages.

We have already shewn that the classic writers had formed no notions of civilization, or even civil polity, save in connexion with a city; even the Roman empire, through a long period of its duration, was little more than a federation of civic municipalities, subjected to the metropolitan supremacy of Rome. The rural population was of no account save when admitted to participate in civic rights; summary proceedings, not less stringent than the laws against fugitive slaves, were sanctioned by edicts of the emperors, to bring back by force the free peasants, who fled from their farms to escape the exactions of tyrannical lords.

We have more than once shewn that exclusiveness is the principle of falsehood in most of the opinions that have predominated over mankind. The limitation of the benefits of civilization to the civic populations was a pernicious falsehood in the ancient systems: the empires of the Babylonians, Saracens, Mongols, and Turks, not less than those of the Romans and Byzan-

tines, have shewn us, that there could be flourishing cities like Babylon, Bagdad, and Delhi, in degraded nations.

Among the Celtic and Teutonic nations, the form of whatever civilization they possessed was rural; this rendered it the more rude, but not the less real. The classical writers have not appreciated this social system, for it was based on a principle with which they were wholly unacquainted,—the sense of individual right,—and they called it barbarous, because it differed essentially from their own; but it is impossible to read the incidental notices of British manners in Cæsar's Commentaries, and the more ample account of the Germans given by Tacitus, without being led to exclaim with Pyrrhus, "these barbarians are far from being barbarous," or at least feeling that they never sunk into the deep degradation of some African and Oceanic tribes. This indeed is what should reasonably have been expected, from the account given in former chapters of the origin of civilization. "Each savage tribe," says Archbishop Whately, "having retained such arts as are most essential to their subsistence in the particular country in which they are placed, there is accordingly, generally speaking, somewhat less of degeneracy in many points in the colder climates; because these will not admit of the same degree of that characteristic of savages, improvidence. Such negligence in providing clothing and habitations, and in laying up stores of provisions, as in warm and fertile countries is not incompatible with subsistence in a very rude state, would, in more inhospitable regions, destroy the whole race in the course of a single winter."*

* Whately's Political Economy, p. 118.

In estimating the influence on modern times of the civilization preserved by the northern tribes, it will be sufficient to examine the Teutonic race alone; for the Celtic and Slavonic races were conquered by the Romans, and merged in the general system of the empire. With the Teutonic races, the first and moving principle was the personal independence and dignity of man, and consequently they were strict in the maintenance of individual rights. The power of the kings was limited by the *mallum*, or assembly of the people; but the power of the state, that is, of the king and *mallum* united, was not absolute over the members: the obnoxious individual, from whom the society withdrew its protection, was allowed to seek admission into some other society; exile, not death, was the severest punishment which it was deemed competent for the supreme power to inflict. The Germans were as tender of the lives of citizens* in peace, as they were unsparing of the lives of their enemies in war.

The Teutonic tribes were honourably distinguished from nearly all the ancient races by their high respect for women, whom they treated as the partners of their life and counsels. Though religious, they were not subservient to their priests, and with them the sacerdotal order never acquired such political influence as the Druids are said to have possessed among the Celtic races. They had some imperfect mode of recording events by rude characters traced on stones or stocks of

* We have no word but "citizen," to express membership of a political community. I have preferred using it here, though the Germans had no cities, to coining such a phrase as "tribe-man," or "horde-man;"—"clansman" would lead to a total misapprehension of the argument.

trees; and though they had no sciences, properly so called, they were acquainted with the use of metals, and were particularly skilful in the manufacture of military weapons.

Though individuality is an important and even necessary element of a complete system of civilization, yet it, like every other element, becomes false and pernicious when associated with a principle of exclusiveness. And it may be added, that when thus perverted, when individuality concentrates itself into selfishness, it is far more false, and far more pernicious, than sociality in its worst and most exclusive form.

War has ever been the most demoralizing cause that has operated for the ruin of every system of society. But the spirit of war, acting as a personal instead of a national motive, transforms man into a demon. It would be absurd to deny the enormities of war on an extended scale, the horrors of the battle-field, the desolation of smiling fields and happy homes, the breaking of widows' hearts, the consigning of helpless orphans to vice and destruction, and the extension of the curse to unborn generations, by taxing their industry to pay the price of inflicting misery on their forefathers. Nevertheless, the world regards this wholesale carnage with far less horror than the contests between small bodies, when each individual has his personal feelings staked in the issue. In wars on a grand scale, there is little to interest the soldier individually; he feels for the honour of his country, his army, or his regiment, not for the gratification of his own anger or revenge. But even in modern warfare, whenever the individual passions of the soldiers are roused, as for instance, in the

storming or sack of a town, the result is more horrible than would be the unchaining of so many tigers; and the mischief is not to be measured by the numbers of the dead, but by the demoralization of the living. It seems a paradox, but a very little reflection will prove its truth, that the extent of a war is the only alleviation of its horrors, for though more destructive to human life generally, it spares moral life in the survivors.*

The individuality cultivated by the Teutonic tribes, both prompted them to frequent wars, and rendered them most susceptible of its demoralizing influences. Had they been left to their own system of civilization, thus at once stimulated and corrupted, there can be little doubt that the history of Europe would have closed in one dark night of barbarism, or if I may use such a word, of savagery. But in the wide-spreading desolation, some social principles, or rather institutions, escaped total destruction, and became rallying points for the relics of humanity.

To one principle, and one institution, Europe was mainly indebted for its preservation from the ruin that overspread the Eastern provinces when assailed by a similar calamity. That principle was Christianity, and that institution was the Christian church. That the corruption of Christianity had commenced before the fifth century cannot be questioned; indeed, St. Paul

* It can scarcely be necessary to state, that I do not by any means contend that all wars are unjustifiable; on the contrary, I hold that in many cases they are eminently laudable. But still I consider that war is not less an evil because it is an unavoidable one. On the religious point of the question I may add, that I have always considered wars to be a part of the means by which the inscrutable designs of Providence in the moral government of the universe are accomplished.

had in his Epistles pointed out the birth of many errors, and stigmatized them with a strength that could only be derived from prescience—which nevertheless subsequently attained a pernicious and mighty growth.* But it must be observed, that nearly all the novelties that had then crept into the faith, were of a stern, severe, and in some cases a belligerent character, and were therefore not perilous in the long period of wars and commotions. Had the faith of the Latins been so thoroughly corrupted as that of the Syrians was at the time of the Saracenic invasion, nothing short of direct miraculous intereference could have saved Christianity from being absorbed in Northern paganism. The church, a body without a soul, might have rallied adherents around it, but not believers; and in such a case, the ardour of its supporters would last while it was profitable, and not a moment longer. But faith was still strong—it had not been yet dissevered from knowledge; it had neither degenerated into mysticism on the one hand, nor indifference on the other; Christians were yet untaught, that orthodoxy was a substitute for personal holiness, or that a ritual of external observances would stand instead of the homage of the soul and understanding.

Moreover, much of the original purity of Christianity was brought back in the moment of danger: the tares

* In the whole of this section I find myself, very unwillingly, at issue with M. Guizot: he ascribes the whole conservative efficacy of Christianity at this period to the church, and regards the principle of Christian faith as inoperative. I think that his own examples of the Syrian and African churches prove the direct contrary. May I be permitted to add, that I record this dissent with all the deference due from a scholar when he differs from his master.

were planted when men slept, but no more could be added when they were roused by the perils that approached. In the scanty records of the time, we find more examples of personal devotion and personal zeal, than had appeared since the final subversion of paganism.

But, in the fearful storm that was coming, it was necessary that this principle, however strong, should be embodied in an institution. Viewing merely human causes and considerations, it is scarcely possible that any faith which had not a material existence, which did not manifest itself visibly, palpably, and substantially, could have resisted the successive tides of barbarism that rolled over Europe. If it had not possessed a hierarchy, a government, a system of law, an organized existence, individual convictions would have been dispersed and lost, because when once scattered, there was no rallying point round which they could be again assembled. The conservative functions of the Christian church during the invasions of the barbarians, appear to me to have been admirably typified in a late exhibition at the Diorama. The picture represented a Swiss village by moonlight, with those silent signs of life in repose, the decaying embers of the household fire, and the twinkle of a solitary candle in the sleeping apartment: the scene changed, an avalanche descended, and morning dawned over one wide, dreary expanse of desolation. But the spire of the church-steeple peered still above the snow, marking the spot where beauty had been, and pointing out the road to the relief of suffering humanity.

But it was not Christianity alone that gained by the conservative strength of the church in this unhappy

period; every essential of ancient civilization which survived the storm, was preserved by the ecclesiastics; the forms of settled government, the principles of civil law, and all the elements of moral power which enable human improvement to resist the predominance of physical force. When all human laws were merged in the right of the strongest, the Christian church proclaimed that there was a law, superior equally to the institutions of legislators and the power of conquerors; and it not only preserved the ideas of morality and order, but gave them permanence and perpetuity, by investing them with the sanction of religion.

The church, in the fifth century, not only preserved the elements of former civilization, but evolved others from itself, which were pregnant with great benefits to humanity. Among these, the most prominent and the most valuable was the separation of the spiritual power from the temporal, a principle which forms the only sure basis of liberty of conscience. "This separation virtually asserts that physical power has neither a right nor a hold on the mind, on conviction, or on truth."* It negated the pagan principle, that the government has a right to choose a religion for the people; and it gave additional prominence to the great principle which we examined in the former chapter, that it is not a state, nor a class, nor a community, nor an institution, that is responsible for the faith or practice of an individual, but only the individual himself.

We do not mean that this principle was evolved in its full strength and clearness by the Christians of the fifth century—it has scarcely yet attained such a con-

* Guizot, *Cours d'Histoire Moderne*, p. 90.

summation; but no one can read attentively the writings of the Fathers, or the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, without finding this great truth struggling and making its way through the surrounding mass of errors and falsehoods.

It is not less important to trace the origin of the errors which corrupted Christianity, than the elements of civilization which that religion conferred on humanity. In doing so, it is above all things necessary to guard against a spirit of controversy and sectarian bitterness; and for this purpose, we must keep steadily in view the imperfections to which human nature is subject in the formation of its opinions, and the liability to error, not only in others but in ourselves.

We hold it demonstrable, that for all the errors which have ever corrupted Christianity, the church was never responsible as an institution, and the clergy very rarely as a body. These corruptions were either an inheritance from former ages, or the necessary result of particular circumstances; they originated not with the clergy, but with the whole mass of society, and in a great majority of instances, they were forced on the ecclesiastical body by the laity. The precise charge against the clergy in the worst of times should be, not that they originated delusions, but that they fostered, encouraged, and propagated those delusions, which were proved by experience to be profitable to themselves individually, or to their order collectively.

The progress of the human mind is not from truth to error, and from error to truth—it is from one truth to another: or to speak more accurately, from truth seen under one aspect, to the same truth seen under

another and a different aspect. If any age possessed the entire of truth, beauty, or justice, then science, art, and morality would be fixed eternally; and there would never be a change of opinion in the world. It is a necessity of our nature to believe what is true and to reject what is false, provided *we know* what is the true, and what the false. Responsibility for our faith does not rest on the belief or the conviction produced by evidence, but on the honesty and diligence with which the evidence is selected and arranged. Belief is involuntary, but the knowledge on which belief is founded remains to a great extent under the dominion of the will. The errors of credulity are not in the deduction of the conclusion from the premises, but in the adoption of a foregone conclusion, independent of argument.*

There never was an age which did not derive some of its opinions from the age immediately preceding:—as one generation springs from another, yet differs from its progenitor in character by the force of the circumstances which surround it; so does one opinion emanate from another, and receive a new mould and form from external causes. This is by no means the doctrine of fatalism; for as each generation had the opportunity of advancing itself by its inherent energies, so each opinion contains the elements of its own purification, in the partial truth on which it is founded. When we hunt out the origin of an error, we trace its parentage to other errors, and these again to a similar ancestry,

* “Non persuadebis etiamsi persuaseris,” was an honest confession, and so far am I from blaming the worthy father by whom it was uttered, that I should gladly see his candour imitated by all who have adopted the same principle; that is to say, by ninety-nine out of every hundred who ever engaged in any controversy, small or great.

until at length we get back to the origin of humanity itself; which being feeble, sees only a partial view of truth, and being proud, believes and proclaims that its partial conceptions are truth in its entirety and completeness.

When therefore we stigmatise error, it must be borne in mind that we do not affix moral culpability to those by whom that error was held, though we are far from saying that they were all immaculate. Viewing the history of opinions, we find tolerance not the performance of a duty, but the avoidance of an absurdity, for we can nowhere fix the responsibility of error.

The first great corruption of Christianity was the growth of a theocratic spirit: after having separated spiritual and temporal power by depriving the state of the former, the ecclesiastical body again attempted to confound them, by aiming at the possession of the latter. This new confusion did not arise from Christianity, for the declaration of its Founder, "My kingdom is not of this world," was prominently brought forward by the Church in all its early struggles. Neither was it borrowed from the Jewish scheme of Theocracy, which was based on inheritance and a system of caste. It was manifestly derived from the traditions of the Pagan empire—the idea of Imperial majesty, of sacred and absolute central power, which, as we have seen, grew up in the centre of polytheism, when national religions were neutralized, and national governments subjected to a metropolitan jurisdiction. The Pagan origin of the sentiment is obvious enough in the arguments by which it was supported; but we must not be surprised that it survived the empire, and even

acquired greater strength after its fall—for the value of a principle of unity is nowhere so strongly felt as in a world of countless miseries produced by repeated distractions.

But the vague notion of imperial majesty would scarcely have evolved itself into the idea of theocracy, had it not been combined with other circumstances, which tended to invest the clergy with magisterial power. We have seen that the Roman empire was to a great extent a federation of municipalities, and the Christian community a federation of churches. As no form of ecclesiastical government had been established by the great Founder of our faith, the early Christians actually established the system with which their previous habits had rendered them familiar, and the constitution of every church was in a great degree derived from that of the municipality where it was located. There is very little analogy between the constitution of the Christian church and that of the Jewish synagogue; the separation between them was made at too early a period, and the hostility of the latter was too violent, to admit of its becoming a guide and precedent.

In examining the differences between the hierarchies of the Greek and Latin churches, the inquirer will find most difficulties removed by comparing them with the differences between the Byzantine and Roman empires. The Greek church exhibits more of the subordination of a monarchy; the Latin, more of the independence of federated corporations. The cause is sufficiently obvious; neither had a divine rule to direct them in the formation of their ecclesiastical constitutions, and both therefore took their forms of government from the political forms by which they were surrounded.

But Christianity was introduced at a time when the municipalities, though preserving their ancient forms, were fast losing their ancient influence. The harassing demands of Imperial despotism, the dangers to which magistrates were exposed in the time of invasion, and the decay of civic revenues, produced discouragement and apathy in the *Curiales*, or members of the municipal bodies. On the other hand, the bishops and clergy were full of life, zeal and energy, the power abandoned by the corporations fell naturally into their hands, and they were summoned by the simple force of circumstances to assume the direction and superintendence of their respective communities; had they not done so, anarchy would have been the inevitable result.

The Christian emperors naturally addressed precepts and edicts to official persons, bound by community of religious feeling to support them against pagan rivals, and also possessing such influence over the people as to insure obedience to the sovereign's mandates. In many cities the clergy were the only organized body, in all they were the most influential, for they alone retained moral strength when every thing was mouldering around them. It would be unjust to tax them with usurping political power; the power was forced upon them by the irresistible course of circumstances.

In the accusations brought against clerical ambition, it is forgotten that individuals and corporate bodies may be placed in such a position as to be compelled to exercise political power whether they like it or not. Gustave de Beaumont, in his late work on Ireland, severely reprobates the government for appointing clerical justices of the peace, quite forgetting that this

is unavoidable where the clergyman is the only resident gentleman in the district. Every one would confess it to be improper that laymen should usurp clerical functions; but every one at the same time acknowledges the propriety of naval and military officers marrying, burying, and baptizing, reading the church-service, and affording religious instruction, in ships, and stations where the aid of a chaplain cannot be obtained.

Ecclesiastical municipalities gradually superseded the old Roman municipalities, and whether the change was for the better or the worse, it was one that could not be avoided. The possession of power is naturally dear to all men, and consequently there can be little doubt that the clerical body became eager to retain the authority thus thrust upon them; but if we look into the legislation of the period, we shall find that the emperors were far more anxious to extend the civil functions of the clergy than any members of the clerical body. Justinian was as anxious to place the details of the government under episcopal control, as Lord Brougham was to manage every thing by barristers of five years' standing. We find that he entrusted to the bishops, in their respective dioceses, the regulation of expenses for public works, the guardianship of wealthy orphans, and the selection of the civic militia.*

The political character acquired by the ecclesiastical body became the source of much abuse, but we have now seen that this character was superinduced by circumstances extrinsic to Christianity, and that in its origin it was neither an abuse nor an usurpation. It was a natural result of the Roman system of municipa-

* Justinian's Code, book i. titles iv. and lv.

lities, and from the accident of its origin, it gave life and strength to the vague notion of the majesty and sanctity of the empire. The combination of both ideas may be traced in the various unhappy efforts to establish a Christian theocracy, which may be found in the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages.

Many of the minor corruptions of Christianity may equally be traced to the traditions of paganism. The passion for the occult sciences was, as we have seen, evolved in the decline of polytheism: the philosophic initiations described by Apuleius, and the ascetic practices imported into Europe from the remote and gloomy superstitions of the East, were clearly the origin of monastic habits, of extravagant penances, and the un-Christian notion of works of supererogation. The verbal trifling which represented the question of man's salvation as turning on a vowel or a diphthong, was derived from the subtleties of the Greek sophists, who employed their time in such verbal disquisitions as those preserved to us by Aulus Gellius;* and finally, the extraordinary jumble of all religious creeds, and all philosophic sects, in the schools of Alexandria,† produced the scholastic philosophy, in which perverted religion, misapplied science, and the distorted allegories

* Socrates had set the example of these quibbling verbal disquisitions, as the reader will find, if he has patience to read the *Cratylus* of Plato.

† "The population of Alexandria," says the author of the *Epicurean*, "consisted of the most motley miscellany of nations, religions, and sects, that had ever been brought together in one city. Beside the school of the Grecian Platonist was seen the oratory of the cabalistic Jew; while the church of the Christian stood undisturbed over the crypts of the Egyptian Hierophant."

of the East were blended together in inextricable confusion.

The invasions of the barbarians lasted from the fifth to the tenth century, and during this whole period all the elements of society were in a chaotic state: there were no permanent frontiers, governments, or nations; it was one wide confusion of principles, races, languages, each seeking to acquire permanence in institutions, but failing because it could not gain supremacy over the rest. So long as wave after wave of barbarians rolled down upon Europe, institutions were swept away almost as soon as established; so long as the state of war endured, the Teutonic principle of individuality tended to produce a state of savage isolation. The first effort made to restore order that had any chance of success, was one suggested by the necessity of the times, and for that very reason deeply imbued with their vices and imperfections; and this was the establishment of the Feudal system.*

That the feudal system was necessary to Europe, is proved by its universal adoption: it gave, what it alone could probably have supplied, permanence of social position to the individual, and permanence of social institutions to the community. The relation between a vassal and his lord was defined, and it was adopted because there was no other definite relation in Europe. Clergy and congregation, king and subjects, aristocracy

* The slight differences between the account of the feudal system given by M. Guizot and that adopted in the following pages, are scarcely worthy of notice. I have dwelt more largely on the physical effects as causes of moral influence, than the great professor: but I believe that every one of my views has been more or less suggested by his work.

and people, republic and commonweal, were relations of which some individuals may have had vague notions, but they were unknown to the great mass of mankind, and very imperfectly comprehended, even by those who had taken them into consideration. Hence these relations were strangely disguised under a feudal form. The church, the municipalities, royalty itself, became feudal; without, however, losing the original principle of their institution, for each in its proper sphere began to struggle against feudality, from the very moment that it had adopted the forms and sanctioned the power of the feudal system.

M. Guizot is inclined to believe that the notion of legitimacy was evolved before the triumph of feudalism, and that it arose during the chaotic struggle of principles for supremacy, which has been already described. The idea of legitimacy has been too influential in the European system of civilization to be passed over lightly: we think that its development must chiefly be attributed to the permanence of ecclesiastical organization amid surrounding changes; and to the same cause we attribute the notion of sanctity, with which it is very generally associated.

M. Guizot strenuously contends that legitimacy has been always part and parcel of the notion of government; and to a certain extent he is undoubtedly right. But the legitimacy of modern Europe is a far more comprehensive, definite, and moral opinion, than that which loosely entered into the elements of Grecian and Roman civilization, and than that which can be traced in the social systems of Asia. It ascribes a divine sanction not to one institution but to all; it

attributes a sacred right to monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies; to episcopacy, presbyterianism, and congregationalism; and it claims respect for every established form, not merely, as M. Guizot seems to imagine, in right of its antiquity, but because the rectitude, the justice, and the virtue of the form, are supposed to be proved by the experience of ages. The Church was the first permanent establishment of modern Europe: for four centuries it alone maintained the struggle against barbarism; it preserved, as we have seen, the memory of municipal freedom and Roman majesty in temporal government, and actually established both in spiritual affairs; and by working on ignorance, superstition, and barbarity, unfortunately with means too closely adapted to the materials of the operation, it obtained a mastery over the energies of the Northern tribes, and not unfrequently the guidance and direction of their movements. Such a power was legitimated, not merely by its continuance, but by its usefulness; and from the church, temporal authority was, almost at the outset, forced to borrow its sanctions and derive its legitimacy.

From this examination it follows that the legitimacy in the European social system is a *reasonable* opinion; and so far is it from being a conclusive argument against discussion, that it seems actually to challenge investigation and court inquiry. But the notion became greatly changed under the influence of feudalism,—it was associated with the principle of inheritance, and it gave a great additional security to estates and families. But at the same time a principle of corruption was introduced into the application of the idea; legitimacy

was applied only to the existing distribution of wealth and power, and its sanctity was usually refused to new creations of either. Property in land, for instance, was sacred, while property in trade was exposed to every species of vexation and embarrassment.

Feudalism produced a physical change in the condition of society, fraught with very important consequences. It transferred political supremacy from the towns to the country, and from a corporate aristocracy to isolated nobles. In the long and cruel wars of the Northern invasion, the cities had suffered more severely than the rural districts, because they had more wealth to attract the cupidity of the conquerors; their supremacy and rule over the surrounding country were destroyed; and commercial wealth, which subsequently became the means of restoring their influence, was very slowly produced. In this situation almost every town courted the protection of the nearest noble, and the citizens neglected the use of arms, entrusting the care of their defence to their feudal lord; and thus the municipalities fell gradually into decay.

Feudalism encouraged the virtues most intimately connected with man's individuality; personal heroism, loyalty and domestic affection,—but it in a more than equal degree, cherished the corresponding vices of sanguinary brutality, disregard of rights beyond its limited sphere, and the limitation of social ties to the family of the noble. There was little sympathy between the noble and his vassal, unless when the latter became a military retainer; and there was no external power to interfere, when the lord abused his sovereignty over his hapless serfs.

The system was perfectly hostile to social order of every kind. All the ancient aristocracies and oligarchies were corporations; the Roman patrician felt for his class or order more than for himself; but in the feudal ages, we find no instance of the lords acting as a body with common purpose and for common interests. Each was opposed to the sovereignty of the monarch and the freedom of the people; but this opposition was merely a personal feeling, and when a bribe was offered either by a king or by an association of citizens, a noble readily sold the elements of his feudal strength, without ever reflecting that he thus weakened the entire body of the aristocracy. The nobles of France did not organize a common and united system of resistance to the encroachments of the crown, until the power of the monarch had been so firmly established that resistance was unavailing.

Chivalry, as it is represented by writers of romance, never existed in Europe; but when the feudal system began to decline, the nobles adopted conventional rules, for the purpose of maintaining the dignity and supremacy which they had previously held without an effort. Knighthood as a principle of association was not evolved from chivalry, but was forced upon it by the pressure of external circumstance. The chivalrous literature by which the virtues of feudalism were exaggerated and its vices concealed, is the production of a still later period, and may very fairly be characterized as a system of audacious misrepresentation.

The Teutonic element of civilization was in its essence a dissociating principle, and consequently it was the very opposite of that which had ruled the ancient world.


It was apparently a retrogradation to anarchy; and if it had run its course unchecked, Europe must have sunk into complete barbarism. The nobles would have been gradually assimilated to the petty chiefs and kings of Africa; the commons would have been herds of slaves. Feudalism, however, was only the severe apprenticeship of European society; it was perhaps a necessary, though afflicting ordeal, through which humanity should pass, before the errors derived from the traditions of imperial Rome could be effaced. But even in the moment of its most absolute sway, there were causes at work, undermining the feudal system, against which the nobles, equally ignorant and disunited, could adopt no efficacious measures, even if they had discovered them; the discovery, however, was not made: the feudal lords did not suspect that their power was menaced, until the government was actually wrested from their hands.

This indeed is always the attribute of an ascendancy when society is in a state of transition; and it is some consolation to the defeated party, that, like the Turks in Constantinople, they may retain the belief in their own superiority long after the fact is evident to all but themselves that their supremacy has been destroyed for ever.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE DURING THE
MIDDLE AGES.

FEUDALISM was forced upon Europe as the only system which could avert the impending danger of anarchy; but many of the systems which assumed a feudal form, still retained their distinguishing principles, and even when the feudal pressure was greatest, were secretly maturing the means for a struggle against its power. The most powerful of these opponents of the dissociating tendencies of feudalism, was the Christian church : it preserved within it the ideas of order, law, morality; the equality of all men before God; and the immutable principles of justice. It may be said, without we hope giving offence to anybody, that the church had in these ages greatly fallen from its original purity, both in doctrine and in discipline, and that there were few among the clerical body in the eleventh century whom the Apostles would have recognised as brothers. But we trust that it may be equally said without offence, that to the church as then constituted, and to the clergy as then organized, humanity owes a deep debt of gratitude, for fighting and winning the battle of freedom and civilization. There is probably no part of the Romish creed, and not one of the Romish institutions, that was not of vast importance in the great struggle which the church had to maintain; and of the doctrines



and practices on which the nineteenth century passes just sentence of condemnation, there is scarcely one which could have been spared, seven hundred years ago, without imminent peril to the great cause of human civilization and social happiness. In the great majority of instances, the errors were forced upon the ecclesiastical body; and in all the rest, the error arose from attempting to render universal some formulary that had been devised for a special purpose.

The feudal nobility was isolated, not merely as a body, but individually; the church linked itself with every class of society. The bishops were the companions of princes, the priests claimed reverence in the baronial hall, the preaching friars and monks brought consolation to the cottage of the suffering peasant—thus everywhere offering a strong contrast between sacerdotal universality and feudal exclusiveness. When distinctions as rigid and more onerous, because more obviously artificial than *caste*, were established in every form of social life, the church scarcely knew any aristocracy but that of talent: once received into holy orders, the serf lost all traces of his bondage; he was not merely raised to an equality with his former lord, but he might aspire to dignities which cast those of temporal princes into the shade. Under such circumstances, the church was inexpressibly dear to the suffering people, and an object of jealousy, not unmingled with hatred, to the feudal tyrants. The ecclesiastical power was daily increasing, as its benefits were more sensibly experienced; the right of sanctuary—in late ages one of its worst abuses, but in the days of unlicensed passions one of its most beneficent institutions—soon placed the church in an

attitude of hostility to the nobility, and gave the signal for a struggle, in which the latter body, for the first time, learned to estimate the importance of the people.

In every age, and in every land, a church exposes its purity to imminent peril by taking the lead in any political struggle: defeat is its ruin, and victory its corruption. It suffers equally in its collective capacity and in its individual members, for the union of the priest and the demagogue forms a character dangerous to the peace of society. But history presents us no instance of such a condition becoming general, save when there is a popular opinion that substantial wrongs exist, against which the members of the sacerdotal order are the only persons able or willing to find a remedy. Such an opinion was formed throughout Europe by those who groaned under feudal domination, and the people could not reasonably be blamed for seeking protection from the priests, when their lords, or rather the lords of their soil, left them no other refuge. It was clearly a matter of necessity, that the church should be kept independent of the temporal power, at a time when the temporal power crushed into ruin every thing that came within its grasp.

The power of the papacy, as an institution, was directly proportioned to the strength of the opinion on which it was founded, and the strength of that opinion must be measured by the circumstances by which it was engendered. It is necessary to keep this philosophic truth steadily in view, because one of the most common arguments urged against the civilizing influences of Christianity, is the alleged delinquencies of the church in the Middle Ages. But if we take into consideration

the nature of the times in which these delinquencies are said to have occurred, we may perhaps discover that what we have censured merits our eulogy, and what we have scorned deserves our gratitude. It is not enough to shew that Christianity as first taught, was a blessing: we must further shew that throughout the whole course of its history, it has been a benefactor to humanity.*

The dispute about investitures was an attempt on the part of the German feudality to bring the church under its subjection; we may concede, that in the abstract, the emperors were right and the clergy wrong, and we may at the same time contend, that the success of the emperors, at that precise period, would have been productive of the worst consequences. The temporal power of princes required to be checked, not strengthened—it was vacillating between anarchy and oriental despotism, and any increase of its force would have fixed it in one or other of these positions. Public opinion, so far as it existed, was therefore inclined to support the ecclesiastical rather than the civil power, and that opinion was energetically represented by

* In the controversial works of some Protestants, the importance of this truth has been often forgotten, and infidelity has gained in consequence. It would be well if, in the heat of argument, persons would remember that the errors of Romanism are not absolute falsehoods, but corrupted truths; and that in the rage for sweeping condemnation, they may pass sentence on the truth, when they merely mean to stigmatise the falsehood. In the particular instance to which reference is made in the text, some have written as if the world would have been better without any church in the Middle Ages; it seems, therefore, not unnecessary to point out the services which the church, however corrupt, was still able to render to the great cause of human advancement.

Hildebrand, or Gregory VII. as he was called, after his accession to the papacy.

This celebrated pontiff has been described on one side as an eminent saint, and on the other as a species of moral monster, opposed to all improvement. There is no doubt that a pope, possessing anything like his influence, who would propose, and strive to enforce, the same measures in the nineteenth century, that Gregory did in the eleventh, might be justly stigmatised as one of the worst of despots, but for his claim to rank among the most pre-eminent of blockheads; but if we judge Hildebrand by the standard of his own age, we shall see that every one of his measures counteracted some evil principle, and helped to work out some antagonizing element of civilization.

Gregory VII. was not less of a reformer than Luther; and were we at liberty to digress, it would be easy to shew many striking points of similarity between the characters of these great men. It is true that Gregory attempted to work out his reformation by despotic means, but there were no others at his disposal: he was in the ecclesiastical world what Charlemagne, Peter the Great, and Napoleon, have been in the political; so eager to accomplish a great and good end, that he trampled on every intervening obstacle, even when the impediment was an innocent or even useful institution. He wished to reform the church, and by means of the church to reform civil society—to introduce more morality, justice, and order into both;—he possessed all the firmness resulting from a consciousness of rectitude, for banished and dying, he never for a moment despaired of his cause, or doubted its sanctity. His latest

words were, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore I die an exile!"

Hildebrand's system of reform triumphed after his death: and there is scarcely in the history of the world a more striking illustration of the fact, that the first success of a triumphant opinion is owing to its containing some great and important truth, and that the subsequent decline of the opinion arises from its being falsified, by introducing into it a principle of exclusiveness. The theory of Hildebrand's system was beautiful: his plan was, to base supreme power on intelligence; and so far it was beneficent and wise; but he was anxious to concentrate both knowledge and power in the church, and this exclusiveness eventually changed the truth of the system into pernicious error. We can now clearly see the nature of the error: we know that there are many other modes by which mind may be developed besides the study of theology; but in the eleventh century, their existence was scarcely suspected, and never was there greater surprise than was felt by prelates and professors, when they first discovered that there was a rivalry between scholastic divinity and philosophy.

The church could not keep the monopoly of knowledge; and when that was lost, on Hildebrand's principles, it had no longer a right to the monopoly of power. When lawyers, physicians, statesmen, and diplomatists formed learned bodies and professions wholly unconnected with ecclesiastical pursuits, the clergy no longer could claim the exclusive direction of the mind. But in the days of Hildebrand, the world was a long way from these developments; it was necessary that

the church, the sole depository of intelligence, should triumph over the brute force of feudalism before intelligence could unfold itself in any direction. The papacy was, in its origin, a benefit to mankind; and perhaps there was never a system, that became a scourge to humanity, which could not similarly be traced to good motives, and even good principles.

While the church and feudalism were maintaining a fierce contest for supremacy, a third power, scarcely noticed by either of the parties, was gradually maturing its strength, and preparing to develope a new element of civilization—the liberty of the commons. We call it a new element, because the liberty sought was utterly unlike the freedom for which ancient democracies, such as the plebeians of Rome, contended. The commonalties of Europe did not ask for a share in the government to be yielded to their class, nor that they should be admitted to participate in aristocratic privileges; they only demanded guarantees for their security in person and property. They did not contemplate any social change, but merely the protection of man in his individuality.

We have seen, that when the feudal nobles had seized the remains of the power retained by the municipalities, the inhabitants of towns, as well as of the country, became subject to potent suzerains, under whom all property was legally held. No man, without consent of his feudal superior, could alienate or bequeath his possessions; and such consent was likewise necessary to his contracting a marriage, portioning a child, or appointing guardians for his offspring. He was strictly subject to the jurisdiction of his suzerain, and could

not institute a law-suit in any but the manorial court, without purchasing the consent of his lord, and making compensation for the fees thus withdrawn. Vassals were also subject to most oppressive services, and to exactions not regulated by law, and therefore constantly abused. The spirit of industry was checked in some cities by absurd regulations, and in others by taxes out of all reason and proportion; nor could the narrow and oppressive policy of a military body of nobles have ever permitted it to attain any degree of height or vigour, Europe, at this sad period, exhibited nothing but

Nations of slaves with tyranny debased,
Their Maker's image more than half effaced.

The oppressions, the marauding expeditions, and the profligate robberies of the nobility, led to the formation of associations for mutual defence, which were joined by many men of high rank, who had either been driven from their estates, or who dreaded such a fate from their more powerful neighbours. Against any confederacy the nobles were unable to make head; they were disunited among themselves, they were so ignorant that few of them could write their own names, and so short-sighted, that they mistook for individual outbreaks, the manifest signs of the progress of society. Still it is of importance to observe that the commons could scarcely have succeeded, had not their objects been practical and tangible: they did not seek to establish any theoretical principle of government, but to remove substantial grievances; and by adopting this wise course, they obtained benefits which they had not contemplated, for remedial measures are not only valuable for the evils they remove, but for the benefits they engender. This

truth was not even suspected by those who won charters of incorporation from the nobles, but its fruits have been reaped by their children.

The last power which entered into the struggle for the overthrow of feudalism was that of the crown. The commonalties were in most cases obliged to court the protection of the sovereign against the domineering spirit of the nobles, and thus an alliance was formed between the principle of royalty and the principle of liberty, which was equally advantageous to both. The municipalities being permitted to raise soldiers for their own defence, supplied the monarchs with armies devoted to his service, not like those composed of the retainers of the crown-vassals, more disposed to abridge than to extend his authority. They also greatly increased the force of the government by grants and loans of money, which gave the sovereign a decided superiority over the nobles, whose wealth generally consisted of raw produce. The elements of civilization opposed to feudalism, were the ideas of the supremacy of intelligence, and the force of law, morality and order, derived from the church; the necessity of guarantees for protection in person and property, developed by defensive associations and municipalities; and finally a growing belief in the expediency of establishing some central and controlling power, which at first vague and undetermined, finally centred in the notion of supreme government.

The influence of these civilizing causes was greatly increased, and almost rendered irresistible by the crusades. The restlessness of the feudal nobility, their love of adventure, glory and plunder, were gratified by an expedition into a land, which all the legends and

traditions of the time represented as a kind of terrestrial paradise. Fanaticism, considered as a feeling, having no connexion with ideas of temporal interest or aggrandizement, had very slight influence on the first crusaders; they knew little and cared less about the Mohammedan, but they went to Asia for the purpose of recovering the crown-lands of their lord, and afterwards holding them as his crown-vassals. Their butchery of the Jews was connected with this political idea; for they looked upon this unfortunate people as a race likely to claim the inheritance of the land they destined for themselves. Even those who knew that Palestine was no such desirable object as it had been represented in monkish tales, expected that the Millennium was at hand, and that a New Jerusalem would descend from heaven to reward the faithful soldiers of the cross. The invasion of Palestine, like that of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, was more a result of the restlessness of feudalism than of a religious principle, however mistaken. Still it cannot be denied that bigotry was mingled with the motives of the adventurers; but in the tangled web of human affairs, it is not always possible to trace any event to a single and simple cause; on the contrary, we find motives of various kinds combining to produce almost every result, and in such diversity of proportions that it is not easy to determine which has predominated.

No king joined in the first crusade; it was undertaken chiefly by discontented or ambitious nobles. The regular crusade must not be confounded with the movements of the mobs that followed Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit; the latter were pure outbursts of ignorance and fanaticism, such as have often taken

place in Europe, from causes that appear inadequate to the result. Even when kings led the later hosts, we find them harassed by the feudal independence of their companions, and soon quitting the war, unless when they were animated by a similar spirit of restless adventure themselves.

But the consequences of the crusades are of more importance to us than their causes; and we shall briefly trace their influence in extending the power of the crown and the freedom of the commons. To raise money for the expedition, many nobles sold their feudal rights to their liege lords, who thus annexed considerable territories to their crowns at small expense. The fiefs of the great barons who died without issue in these wars reverted to their respective sovereigns, and some whose titles were not well established, found that the monarchs of the West were not scrupulous in applying the law of forfeiture, whenever they could devise a pretext. But this increase in the physical power of the crown was surpassed by the extension of its moral influence; during the absence of so many potent vassals accustomed to control their sovereign, an opportunity was afforded for extending the prerogatives of the crown unchallenged. This was particularly the case in the administration of justice; vassals began to institute suits in the royal instead of the baronial courts, because the latter, during the barons' absence, had either been discontinued or lost their efficacy. The nobles soon took the alarm at this innovation; but the European sovereigns steadily pursued their purpose, and the regular courts of law finally acquired the power which they now possess. It must not, however, be

supposed that heritable and territorial jurisdictions were abolished immediately; indeed traces of them may be discovered in most European countries at the present day; but while the most turbulent and warlike of the barons were absent, the authority of the royal courts was established, and their beneficial effects were so palpable that they could never again be shaken.

The vast sums which the barons had wasted in their distant expeditions led them to sell charters of community on cheap terms to the towns within their jurisdiction; and the example incited other towns to attempt to gain similar privileges by force, from the barons who were disinclined to sell them.

During the eleventh and part of the twelfth century, there was a long and desultory war between the cities of France and Germany, and the aristocracy; which were finally terminated by treaties of peace unfavourable to the latter, for such must the charters of incorporation granted to the cities and boroughs be considered. In England, a combination of fortunate circumstances rendered the contest between the barons and the municipalities less violent and protracted than it was on the continent, for in England the tendency of the people towards freedom has always been marked by a spirit of conciliation and forbearance towards existing institutions. The enfranchisement of the serfs was a consequence of the freedom acquired by the towns, and was encouraged by the sovereigns as a means of lowering the power of the nobility.

The court of Rome had taken the initiative in the crusades, and had deceived itself into the belief that it led the public opinion, which it really followed. It

had acquired immense strength by its conquest over feudalism, but its rulers did not see that this strength was based on opinion, on a belief in its superior wisdom and rectitude—qualities which were fast removing into other quarters. No sooner was the triumph over feudalism completed, than the church found itself fettered in its course towards establishing a theocracy by the extended power of royalty, and the increasing freedom of the people.

In this new struggle, the church is apparently opposed to the progress of civilization, but the opposition is in appearance only. The theocracy which the court of Rome sought to establish, was not in accordance with the general policy of the clergy, but on the contrary, was repugnant to the great majority. Instead of a despotism, the bishops of Christendom wished to establish a system of ecclesiastical government, in the nature of a federative republic, granting to the see of Rome only the rights of precedence. Could the clergy have secured exemption from civil jurisdiction and taxation, without the aid of the papacy, there is abundant evidence that they would gladly have aided the monarchs in achieving the independence of their national churches; and even in spite of the temptation of exemption, many of the prelates, and a much larger proportion of the inferior clergy, strenuously resisted the papal attempts to usurp the rights of their sovereign.

Innocent IV. exhausted the strength of the Roman theocracy in his contest with the house of Hohenstauffen; but he was victorious, and his successors did not see that all the elements of their strength had been exhausted in the war. No one could believe any longer

in the superior wisdom or virtue of the papacy, for it had manifested incomprehensible folly and monstrous iniquity. But Boniface VIII. like many other politicians, could not perceive that the efficacy of ecclesiastical weapons, derived from opinion, is destroyed when that opinion changes; he hoped to raise a movement by spell-words, whose potency was resistless in the preceding half century, but which had now become no better than "sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal." He proclaimed open war against the independence of nations and kings, issued his manifestoes, fulminated bulls and excommunications, and, to his great astonishment, found that he had only wasted breath and paper. Edward I. of England, laughed him to scorn; Philip the Fair, of France, had him arrested as a criminal; the illusion of Roman omnipotence was at an end, the reality was gone long before.

This triumph of royalty over the papacy was not a victory over the church, for the church, as a body, was no party to the quarrel; and this is evident in the treaty between the belligerents, for the church was scandalously sacrificed by the election of Clement V. to the pontificate by the intrigues of Philip the Fair. The papacy had recognised its blunder; in all future struggles with monarchical power, the court of Rome acted strictly on the defensive; and in the fifteenth century we find it seeking an alliance with royalty, whose friendship could only be procured by sacrifices of power, and lending its aid to crush the growing freedom of opinion, and freedom of institution, between which, the popes were the first who discovered that there was an intimate and necessary connexion.

Supported by the ecclesiastical power, royalty soon completed its conquest over feudalism, and in many parts of Europe triumphed over the municipalities. Its success was greatly aided by the growth of diplomacy, which acquired strength when the permanence of governments and states gave an individuality to European nations. The necessity of unity of purpose and secrecy of design in diplomatic transactions, was favourable to the increase of royal power: all the external relations of a people were found to be most efficiently regulated by its monarch; and an age in which these relations were necessarily complicated and uncertain, the age of their infancy and development, seemed destined to give absolute power to every king in Europe. Even in England, the Tudors were all but despotic, and in France the Bourbons acquired unrestrained authority.

But it was with royalty as with feudalism and the papacy, the moment that it became exclusive, it was shorn of its strength, and it was forced to admit the free action of the rival elements of civilization, or sink into ruin.

In Europe, religion, privilege, and right, have an existence separate and distinct from sovereignty; the church, the aristocracy, and the people have their institutions as well as the monarchy, and the efforts of any one to acquire supremacy are at once checked by the presence of the rest. Our dangers from despotism, popery, feudalism, and republicanism, are nearly equal, for each of these is essentially nothing more than giving exclusive supremacy to some one principle in our constitution; the experiment has been tried with each in its turn, and the results were too injurious and too

notorious to admit of their being renewed while such a thing as history exists.

Royalty inherited the dominion of the papacy, but it has become in the progress of time a more moral idea than it was at the outset; no one now contends that its force rests in the individual will of the monarch; on the contrary, royalty is regarded as a convenient personification of the sovereignty of right, "of a will essentially reasonable, enlightened, just, impartial, superior to all individual wills, and having, therefore, a right to govern them."* In short, a monarch is the chief magistrate of the commonwealth, and is declared to be incapable of doing wrong, in the same sense and for the same cause that the law is called the perfection of human reason.

From the moment that the papacy had failed in its struggle against royalty, a desire for reformation began to appear in the church; it being obvious that doctrines which found no response in the general mind, must have been rendered thus inefficacious by some principle of corruption and decay. The papacy made a second blunder, and one more fatal than that committed in its struggle with royalty; it was a second time misled by the belief, that an inert and dead opinion was a living doctrine. The implicit veneration for the church in the sixth century, was owing mainly to its exclusive possession of intelligence; but in the sixteenth century, the ecclesiastical body most immediately connected with the papacy, had not only lost this monopoly, but had sunk into comparative mental imbecility. Of all the great discoveries in science and inventions in art, made

* Guizot, Lecture v.

during this long interval, there is scarcely one to which the aristocracy of the church can establish a claim; and those made by the inferior clergy, whether regular or secular, were discouraged and even persecuted by the superior ecclesiastics. The human mind had made vast progress without the aid, and almost in despite of, the hierarchy, and yet the papacy claimed the same iron rule over opinion as when learning and science were not to be found beyond the precincts of a cloister.

The consequences of this inconsistency produced feelings of restlessness within and without the church; a desire for papal reform became general; and it was considerably increased by the great schism of the West, which was itself a result of the new agitation of opinion. Unfortunately the ecclesiastical body believed that it would be sufficient to change some forms, while the wants of the times could only be satisfied by a renovation of doctrines. Hence the efforts for reform without the church, were directly opposed to those made within, and thus the popes attained a temporary triumph over both. The Council of Constance, bent on reform of one kind, burnt John Huss for attempting reform of another kind; and by this very act rendered themselves powerless, for they lost the support of popular opinion. The bishops had yet to learn the weakness of any aristocracy, spiritual or temporal, whose power is not supported by the people. Destitute of that support, the councils of Constance and Basle were dissolved without exciting any commotion, and the popes rejoiced in a victory a thousand times worse than a defeat. The papal institutions were left farther than ever behind the advance of opinion; and peaceful gradual reform

was refused, only to prepare the way for turbulent revolution.

The Reformation was not the work of Luther, Calvin, or Zuinglius; it would have taken place if they had never been born. The human mind had begun its great struggle for freedom of thought, and had generated opinions too strong and intense to remain long without a representative. True, the Reformers and their immediate successors denied to others the freedom which they claimed for themselves; but it is not less true, that in every Protestant country, the current of opinion flowed steadily onward to establishing not merely the toleration but the absolute right of private judgment.

Martin Luther was the leader, not the author, of the Reformation; and like many other leaders of revolutions, he did not always comprehend the nature and purpose of his mission, for he more than once stood aghast at the necessary consequences of his own actions. He was the representative of the democratic spirit of the times; and yet he became the champion of German feudalism, against not only emperors and popes, but also against the people. He had no distinct consciousness of the inconsistency between his principles and his position, and hence many of his proceedings have a character of presumption and unreasonable dictation, and his arguments in support of them are sophistical and inconclusive. There seems to be, among friends and enemies, a strong dislike to meddling with the character of this remarkable man, and his true biography remains yet to be written. Judging him from the portraiture of himself he has left us in his works, his

character seems to be one that "he who runs may read;" he was a coarse vulgar-minded man, with intellect strengthened but not polished by learning; he possessed great common sense, and a thorough contempt for every thing that is usually called "humbug," in which he included the rules of conventional morality; rules, however, which it must be confessed seem, in every age of mankind, to have been devised for cloaking vice, rather than encouraging virtue. Many of his actions appear like a bravado to the public opinion of his age; for instance, his marriage with a nun, and his sanction of polygamy: but it is doubtful whether a man of inferior energies, less uncompromising boldness, and it must be added, less impudence, could have fought the battle which it was the glory of Luther to maintain. It is utterly absurd to canonize him as a saint, and still more so to condemn him as the worst of sinners. Luther was the great man of his age—the faithful representative of all its wisdom and of all its folly; to inquire whether, in every part of his arduous struggle, in every action of his harassed life, he preserved the methodical rules devised by society, is scarcely less absurd than to ask was a general dressed in the fashion when he led his army into battle, or a successful prime minister skilled in the etiquette of a ball-room. Luther's character is stamped on the history of his country, and even Catholic Germany acknowledges its obligations to the great reformer.

The unity of the progress of European civilization was in some degree broken, when the different states began to assume a permanent organization; it was altogether destroyed by the progress of the Reforma-

tion. There was not only a broad line of demarcation between the states that adopted a reformed and an unreformed church, but there was a great difference between the states in which the Reformation was promoted by the crown, or forced by the people. Here, therefore, this chapter should close, had not most of the recent writers on civilization misrepresented the special character of the Reformation in England, and some Protestant philosophers of France and Germany described our church as the enemy of all improvement. The subject is too interesting, and the charge too grave, to be dismissed in silence, and we shall therefore devote a brief space to its examination.

M. Guizot says of the reformed British hierarchy :—
“It was, every whit, as full of abuses as the church of Rome, and infinitely more servile. . . . The religious revolution was not accomplished in England as on the Continent; it was the work of the kings themselves. There is no doubt that the genius of reform might have formerly existed, and even efforts been made to forward it, and that probably these principles would not have been tardy in shewing themselves. But Henry VIII. took the leadership; *power became revolutionary*. The result, at least in the beginning, was that, as a redress of abuses and ecclesiastical tyranny, as an emancipation of the human mind, English reform was far less complete than Continental. It was suited, naturally enough, to the interest of its immediate authors. Royalty and episcopacy maintained in its full strength, divided between them, at once, the wealth and the power won as spoil from the vanquished papacy. The consequences soon made themselves perceptible. It was said that

the reform was completed, while the greater part of the motives that made it desirable still subsisted in their full strength. It reappeared in a popular form: it claimed from the bishops what it had claimed from the Romish church; it accused them of being so many popes. Every time that the general fortunes of the religious revolution were compromised, every time that it was necessary to struggle against the ancient church, all the portions of the reformed party rallied round the same standard, and made common cause against the common enemy: but when the danger was past, the internal struggle recommenced; popular reform renewed its attack upon royal and aristocratic reform, denounced its abuses, complained of its tyranny, demanded the fulfilment of its promises, and declared that it had reproduced the arbitrary power it had dethroned."

It must, in the first place, be observed, that "power becoming revolutionary," was by no means peculiar to the English Reformation. M. Guizot must know that feudalism in Germany, France, and Scotland, was not less a real power than royalty in England, and that in the struggle for the Reformation they were scarcely less revolutionary. In England, the king's desire of change was perhaps in advance of the people, and so were the reforming projects of the Huguenot leaders in France; but on the other hand, the people had in England at least a greater anxiety for the reform of abuses than the monarch, and in the first nineteen years of Henry's reign, all the power of royalty was engaged in the support of the papacy. The more, however, the history of the time is examined, the more we shall find that the influence of royalty on the English Reformation, at

least in its earliest stages, was not so much sought by the sovereign, as forced upon the crown by the people. This indeed is one of the most marked characteristics between Englishmen and other Europeans, that in every innovation, a constant respect is manifested for antiquity, and that all projects for reform are combined with reverence for established institutions. In every other country where an institution has outgrown the opinion on which it was founded, the efforts are uniformly directed to the subversion of the institution, and the establishment of something wholly new in its place. In England, on the contrary, the effort always has been to modify the old institution, so as to accommodate it to the change of opinion. Hence in every reform, the English people gain more in reality than they do in appearance, and hasty judges are deceived by the preservation of old forms, into a belief of the continuance of old abuses. No doubt the benefits of change are more slowly developed by the adoption of such a proceeding, but this defect is more than counterbalanced by great and obvious advantages; indeed this national characteristic possesses the most decisive of all advantages—success: a popular movement to a definite and attainable object, can scarcely fail of triumph, especially when it appears obvious to common sense, that in such a struggle the reformers are the Conservatives, and their opponents the Destructives. Every institution is founded on opinion, and the simple fact of its existence proves that a portion of the opinion still survives. The old opinion is conciliated by preserving the form of the institution,—the new and growing opinion is not wounded, for it is the child of the old, and therefore habituated to the

form, though it sees and enforces the necessity of a change in the substance.

Every great change in England has been effected under the auspices of a power recognised by the constitution: the Reformation was effected under the guidance of the sovereign—the limitations imposed on royalty in the age of the Stuarts were gained by the House of Commons—the Revolution was effected by the Church and the Aristocracy—and it is very doubtful whether the catholic question or the reform in parliament would have been carried if they had not been made cabinet measures. If the aid of royalty rendered the English reformation incomplete, it greatly facilitated its success, and opened a safe way to further and future improvement.

The course adopted by the English reformers necessarily led to the abandonment of two very injurious principles: the infallibility of the church, and the immutability of ecclesiastical forms and laws. No doubt the reformers were inconsistent in their conduct, and claimed for themselves the infallibility which they refused to the papacy. But this inconsistency was not peculiar to England; in every part of Europe the reformation was a revolution whose scope and purpose were not comprehended by its authors, and in consequence they all adopted institutions, and sanctioned practices inconsistent with their declared opinions. The burning of Servetus in Geneva, the persecution of Anabaptists in Germany; of Armenians in Holland; of Puritans in England; of Prelatists in Scotland; and of Papists in every Protestant country, threw a suspicion on the motives of the reformers, which frequently rendered their cause unpopular. They felt the inconsistency, and they

attempted to excuse it by shuffling evasions, by monstrous fictions, or by a disguised assumption of the infallibility which they had themselves condemned. Hence there is an appearance of meanness, trickery, and selfishness, in the early history of the Reformation, which it is utterly absurd to deny, because it is utterly impossible. The reason is not difficult to discover: religious opinion had developed itself with extraordinary rapidity, while political opinion was scarcely formed. Hence the reformed institutions could not be adapted to the reformed opinions, and in every country a secondary struggle became necessary to bring them into harmony.

The church and royalty in England did not share the entire wealth and power wrested from the papacy; a very large portion of both was transferred to the laity: every one knows that Henry VIII. distributed the property and estates of the monasteries among his courtiers, and the jurisdiction of the court of Chancery, which had long been connected with ecclesiastical discipline, was finally secured to the laity. The clergy also lost their independence of the civil power; and this was a gain to the government, rather than to the sovereign. M. Guizot is not justified in insinuating that the reformers of the English church, whether royal, episcopal, or aristocratic, ever declared that the constitution which they established and the formularies which they framed were fixed and immutable. On the contrary, there never was a period in the history of the English church when the possibility of a change was not conceded, though its expediency might be denied. In the controversy between the prelatists and the puritans, the

former invariably insisted on the reasonableness or innocence of the forms for which they contended, and did not rest their case on the mere authority of the church. It is true that they invited the aid of the secular arm when they failed to produce conviction, but their opponents, when in power, did the same; even M. Guizot himself, when minister of France, imposed vexatious restraints on the press, and preferred silencing his opponents by force to the trouble of refutation.

Leaving the conservation of pure doctrine entirely out of the question, and looking merely to the social and political tendencies of the English Reformation, we cannot see how the principles in which it originated could have been changed for the better. Let us separate the individual king and the individual bishops from royalty and episcopacy: it might have been advantageous no doubt to have a purer monarch than Henry VIII., and a prelate of firmer purpose than Archbishop Cranmer: but the question of personal character is indifferent to the issue; the true point is, whether such a change as the Reformation could have been more efficiently made, by known and established powers, such as royalty and episcopacy, or by new and unknown powers called into existence for that special purpose? Experience has answered for the Church of England; freedom of thought and mental independence have grown up under its charge; it always encouraged both in principle, even when it persecuted them in practice. There is a strength and a repose in great establishments favourable to private liberty; a more liberal and catholic theology pervades such a body, than can ever exist amidst the jealous eyes of small and contending

sects. There is a tendency in all societies to press their influence unduly on individual minds; and dissent often imposes heavier chains than those which it broke. It is not intended to assert that the Church of England is absolutely perfect; but enough has been said to shew, that it is associated with progress, that it has contributed and can contribute to the general improvement of society.

In resting the claims of the Church of England on the part it has taken in developing the last great element of European civilization—freedom of thought and mental independence—it must not be supposed that these are the only services which the Establishment has rendered to humanity. One of equal, perhaps of greater importance, was that the church early foresaw that “freedom of thought,” like every other element of civilization, would become false and tyrannical so soon as it became exclusive: to the influence of the English church we owe the happiness of having the perilous experiment tried in a neighbouring country instead of in our own.

Freedom of thought became the predominant element in European civilization during the eighteenth century. At first it manifested itself in abstract speculation, which in England was promptly met by a counter-examination of facts and evidences: but on the Continent it was neglected by the antagonizing elements of temporal government and spiritual authority, which, deeming these speculations far remote from themselves, scarcely made any effort to check or restrain them. Thus allowed to become “a chartered libertine,” the spirit of examination dashed over all barriers—cast

away every restraint—respected nothing, spared nothing. M. Guizot forcibly states the result:—

“I should be embarrassed to tell what were the external facts that the human mind respected, or to whose influence it submitted; it hated or despised the whole social state; it began to consider itself as a species of Creator; institutions, opinions, manners, society, and man himself, all were to be remodelled, and human reason undertook the enterprise.”

This wildness of thought finally embodied itself in wildness of action. This is neither the time nor the place for entering into any consideration of the French Revolution: we need not portray opinion succeeding to opinion, and institution to institution, nor the bloodshed produced by these struggles and vicissitudes; one great truth was evolved by the struggle, which the world ought to have discovered long before—namely, that social happiness results from the co-ordination of the elements of civilization, and that it is injured, if not destroyed, by giving exclusive predominance to any one of them, even the most promising.

In this rapid examination of European civilization, we have found that feudalism, ecclesiastical power, royalty, and finally unrestricted reason, have gained absolute power by the force of the truth which they contained; that they grew tyrannical when they perverted that truth into falsehood, and were then torn down from “their pride of place” by insulted and outraged humanity. The moral lesson to be deduced from these views has been eloquently stated by M. Guizot, and after having had occasion to differ from him so often in this chapter, it is pleasant to find perfect harmony in the conclusion:—

“It is the duty, and it will be, I trust, the peculiar merit of our time to recognise that every power, whether intellectual or temporal, whether it belongs to governments or to the people, to philosophers or to ministers, whether exercised in one cause or in another,—that every human power, I say, carries within itself an inherent evil, a principle of weakness and abuse which must assign it a limit. It is only the general liberty of all rights, all interests, and all opinions, the free manifestation of all their forces, their legal co-existence; it is this system only that can restrain each force and each power within its legitimate limits, and hinder it from usurping the rights of others; in one word, free examination should really subsist, and for the profit of all.”

CHAPTER XI.

THE INDEPENDENT CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE
CONTRIBUTED TO THE ADVANCE OF CIVILIZATION.

IN the preceding chapter we examined the leading elements of European civilization as they were successively developed, and shewn how they passed from speculative opinion into settled conviction, and how they then became embodied in institutions which influenced the internal condition of society, and the external relations of states. These revolutions were neither the result of force, nor of wisdom: no great masses were put in motion to subvert established order; no skilful statesman arranged the combinations of profound policy, to effect these mighty changes;—they were the result of a progressing advancement of intellect, sometimes accelerated, and sometimes retarded, by accidental causes. About the close of the fifteenth century, however, an unparalleled impulse was given to the progress of European civilization, by the simultaneous invention, or at least introduction from the East, of the mariner's compass, gunpowder and artillery, an improved system of arithmetic, and the art of printing. Combined with these, were a renewed study of the Roman law, the cultivation of Greek literature, the restoration of the fine arts, and the opening of new paths to industry and commercial enterprise. Useful as these inventions, discoveries, and revivals

were, their origin and history is involved in great obscurity: it would, indeed, be impossible, within our limits, to enumerate, much less to discuss, the controversies to which they have given rise; but we shall rather briefly examine some of the beneficial effects which they produced on the condition of European society.

Among the most prominent evils of feudalism, noticed in the preceding chapter, we particularly mentioned the want of a code of laws and a regular system of jurisdiction. The barbarous expedients of ordeal and wager of battle were so obviously repugnant to common sense, that the Church succeeded in bringing many civil suits under the canon law, and ecclesiastical jurisprudence became an object of such admiration and respect, that exemption from civil jurisdiction was courted as a privilege, and conferred as a reward. Towards the middle of the twelfth century, a copy of the Pandects of Justinian is said to have been accidentally discovered in Italy, and the superiority of the system of Roman jurisprudence to the vague and rude traditions of barbarism was so obvious, that in less than half a century law became a highly honoured profession, and universities for its study were founded in Bologna, Naples, Padua, and other places.

The social effect of the study of law was very great. Hitherto, arms were considered the only profession worthy of a gentleman; and the education of the higher ranks was confined to war and its usages; even their exercises and pastimes had a military character. But when law began to be studied, a knowledge of it was rendered necessary to the discharge of magisterial

and judicial functions; a new profession—different from arms, but not less honourable—was introduced among the laity, and was zealously pursued, as a new road to wealth and eminence.

Civil law being separated from ecclesiastical, the lawyers succeeded to a large portion of the power which had formerly been possessed by the clergy; and thus a jealousy arose between the two professions, which soon ripened into open hostility. The lawyers were naturally opposed to the ecclesiastics and the nobles—for it was with them an object of great importance to remove the trial of causes from the spiritual and baronial courts, into the royal courts, where they themselves practised. Their interest in extending the royal jurisdiction, made them, at the first, zealous supporters of the royal prerogative; but when their courts were firmly established, they became strenuous supporters of the majesty of law. Hence the lawyers, who, in the reign of Elizabeth and the earlier years of the reign of James I., carried the notions of prerogative to their utmost extent, were, in the reign of Charles I., equally zealous in enforcing the constitutional rights of the people. The expansion of law and the legal profession, not only put an end to the dominion of feudal force, but imposed restrictions on the usurped power of the papacy, and on the despotic tendencies which were manifested when royalty acquired the ascendancy in Europe.

From the time that the Eastern empire was deprived of the Exarchate of Ravenna, the knowledge of the Greek language and literature rapidly declined in Europe, and sunk almost into complete oblivion. The

disputes between the Greek and Latin churches prevented the ecclesiastical powers of Europe from sanctioning any effort for the revival of these studies. Even when a Latin empire was established in Constantinople, the crusaders, by whom it was founded, paid no attention to the literary treasures contained in the city. Heeren, indeed, asserts that the great destruction of the works preserved in the Byzantine libraries was owing to the conquest of the Latins, and that they left little for the Ottomans to devastate.

When Constantinople was taken by the Turks, a great number of illustrious and learned Greeks sought shelter in Italy. They reached the Peninsula at a time when the writings of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, had created a general taste for literature, and they were gladly received as teachers of poetry, philosophy, and eloquence. Great resistance was made to the new study by the partisans of scholastic philosophy. In the university of Oxford, a number of professors and students, calling themselves Trojans, opposed the study of Greek with a virulence that sometimes led to personal violence. But in spite of such efforts, a taste for Greek literature was generally diffused among the learned, and was even favoured by the ecclesiastical authorities.

The reading of the New Testament in the original Greek weakened the estimation in which the authorized version of the Latin church had been hitherto held. The Vulgate Translation, made when Latin was the vernacular language, had, like the prayers and formularies of the church, become unintelligible to the people. It may indeed be noticed, as one of those

inconsistencies into which men fall by a literal interpretation of precedent, that the presenting the Scriptures and forms of prayer to the laity in an unknown tongue, which was so prominent an objection against the Romish church in the age of the Reformation, was virtually the result of the efforts made by the earlier Latin church to render both intelligible to the people.

The Vulgate version, though literal and accurate, is deficient in spirit; it is thoroughly imbued with western mind, and wants the oriental colouring which is so marked a characteristic of the original. This is more particularly the case in the Old Testament; the translator was not acquainted with the usages of oriental life; he has, therefore, accommodated the patriarchal and Jewish history to the climate and customs of southern Europe; and this error is the more to be lamented, as it is manifested, not so much by any particular phrase or passage, but by the general impression resulting from the whole. In the New Testament the same error is, however, apparent; and one instance of it—the confusion between demons and devils—has left its traces in most of the western translations. The study of the New Testament in the original, if it did not produce any radical change in the doctrines of Christianity, presented them under new aspects, and with a greater degree of force and power than they are offered in the Vulgate.

As a proof of the little intercourse between the Greeks and Latins previous to the capture of Constantinople, we may notice the neglect of the composition called the Greek Fire, in the western wars. At the end of the eleventh century, the Pisanese fleet was

severely injured by this artificial flame; but the Italians were unable to discover the secret of its composition, though it was early revealed to the Mohammedans of Syria and Egypt. The application of gunpowder to the purposes of war, however, rendered the secret of the Greeks worthless, by introducing a cheaper and more efficacious engine of destruction. The difficulties respecting the origin of gunpowder may perhaps be solved by considering the preparation of the material, and its application to purposes of war, as distinct and separate inventions. The explosive force of nitre seems to have been known in China and India from the most remote ages; but the chief use made of it, was in the manufacture of fireworks for public festivals and rejoicings. The Arabs and Saracens learned the art of preparing it, when they extended their conquests beyond the Oxus; and it was probably from them that Roger Bacon, who was deeply versed in Saracenic literature, derived the secret of its composition. It was not until a century after his time that we find gunpowder employed for artillery. The earliest authenticated account we have of these engines of war, describes them as being employed by the king of Granada at the siege of Baza, A.D. 1342. Another century elapsed before they were brought to anything like perfection. Guns and pistols were scarcely known before the sixteenth century: old habits made warriors prefer the ancient implements of war, and for a long time the use of fire-arms was deemed equally sinful and disgraceful.

The revolution produced in war by the introduction of artillery and musketry, deprived battle of its worst

horror—the indulgence of individual passion and personal feeling. From the time of the change, the trade of a soldier was no longer calculated to foster a sanguinary disposition, and to form habits of ferocious cruelty, and as we have already said, war thus lost its demoralizing effect on survivors. The new processes of war also accelerated the fall of feudalism, for it destroyed the importance of the armed knights, who had long been regarded as the chief strength of every European army. The knight, in his panoply of mail, a kind of moving fortification, was little endangered by arrows, darts, and spears, but his armour was of little avail against the destructive force of shot and shell. The military importance of the cavaliers, the original source of their political power, was swept away, and they were thus forced to lay aside their independent attitude, and enter into the combinations of political society. The employment of artillery rendered wars more expensive, and thus brought them into immediate connexion with the operations of finance. Hence sovereigns were compelled to adopt measures for the increase of national wealth, and the importance of the commercial classes was proportionally raised as their aid in supplying armaments became more necessary. It may indeed be said, that the application of gunpowder to war greatly increased the influence of the central power, and thus extended the authority of the sovereign; but by an operation, slower though not less certain, it again transferred a large share of this influence to the mercantile and moneyed classes.

Recent investigations have enabled us to trace the introduction of the magnetic needle into Europe with some degree of accuracy. The circumstance which has

perplexed most of those who have written on the history of navigation, is that the earliest European accounts of the directive power of the magnet, refer to it as something generally known, and not as a recent discovery. Hence we may reasonably infer, that it was practically known to sailors before it engaged the attention of the learned, and that they obtained it by intercourse with some nation where the compass: was in ordinary use. This conjecture has been changed into a certainty by Klaproth's researches: he has shewn that the polarity of the needle was known to the Chinese before the Christian era, and that they employed it in their land journeys when they had to pass through the Tartarian deserts. In the history of the Tsin dynasty, we find the following account of the mode in which the magnet was used: "a light wooden figure was made with the hand extended, and a magnetic bar was passed through the arm, so that when the figure turned freely on a pivot its finger always pointed to the south. When the emperor went in state, a car furnished with one of these figures headed the procession and served to indicate the cardinal points." It is not improbable that the Arabs taught the use of the compass, which they had themselves derived from the Chinese, to the European sailors who frequented their ports, for the mode in which it was at first used by the nations of the west is exactly that described in the old Chinese historians and repeated by the Arabian historians. Bailak, who published his "Merchant's Treasure" in the 681st year of the Hegira (A.D. 1282), gives the following account of the way in which a compass was formed by the mariners of his day, and it is essentially the same as

the descriptions given by the writers of the Middle Ages and the Chinese narratives collected by Klaproth. "The captains who navigate the Syrian sea, when the night is so dark that they cannot see a star, by which they might determine the cardinal points, fill a vessel with water and shelter it from the wind. Then they take a needle, which they stick into a splinter of wood or a reed, in the form of a cross, and throw it on the surface of the water. Afterwards they take a piece of lodestone, large enough to fill the hand, which they bring near the surface of the water, and they give the water motion by stirring it, so that the needle begins to revolve. Then they suddenly withdraw their hands, and the needle certainly points north and south. I saw them do this with my own eyes while voyaging from Tripoli in Syria to Alexandria, in the 640th year of the Hegira (A.D. 1242)."*

From this account it appears probable that the adoption of the compass as a guide, was slow and gradual. Bailak, we see, declares that it was only used when celestial observations could not be made; and hence the use of the magnetic needle, like most other improvements, might have been long very partial and limited, had not other circumstances given an impulse to navigation.

The increased intercourse between the eastern and western world produced by the crusades did not cease when these laws were relinquished. A commercial spirit was excited in the Italian republics, which triumphed over bigotry, and led them to seek a peaceful

* The experiment mentioned by Bailak has been tried with complete success on several occasions.

intercourse with the Mohammedan nations. The benefits which trade conferred on southern Europe induced the cities of the north to form the celebrated Hanseatic league, and subsequently stimulated the people of the Netherlands to become a nation of merchants. While Europe was thus improving, great interest was excited by intelligence of the mighty conquests effected by the Mongols (A. D. 1246), and Pope Innocent IV. hoped to convert their Khan, and engage him in a plan for the total subversion of Mohammedanism. He sent some monks into Asia for the purpose, and his example was followed by St. Louis of France, who laboured under the delusion that some great Christian monarchy existed in the unknown regions of northern Asia. These ambassadors were followed by travellers, who ventured into such remote countries induced by the prospect of commercial advantages or by motives of mere curiosity. First, both in time and merit among these, was Marco Polo, who visited the most eminent commercial cities of Asia, and penetrated even to Cambolu or Pekin, the capital of China, or as it was then called, Cathay. On his return to Europe he astonished his cotemporaries by his accounts of the wealth, beauty, and fertility of the regions he had visited, the variety of their manufacture, and the extent of their trade. A desire of obtaining access to these wealthy regions was generally diffused, and it was anxiety to reach Cathay that led to the discovery of America.

The discovery of the Canaries or Fortunate Islands by the Spaniards, about the middle of the fourteenth century, infused a bolder spirit into navigation; and when John, king of Portugal, sent an armament against

the Moors of Barbary, he ordered that some of the vessels should be employed in exploring the unknown regions on the coast of the Atlantic (A.D. 1412). The progress of discovery on the African coast, under the auspices of Prince Henry of Portugal, was very steady though slow; it received fresh impetus from John II. king of Portugal, who hoped that it would be practicable to find a new route to the West Indies, and had his wishes gratified by the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope (A.D. 1483).

Before the new route to India could be thoroughly explored, the attention of Europe was diverted to a more wondrous and unexpected event—the discovery of a New World, situated in the Western Ocean, by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese in the service of Spain. Familiar as we now are with the figure and magnitude of the earth, it is not easy to comprehend how difficult these ideas appeared in the Middle Ages, and how slowly men perceived the inferences which they immediately suggested;* and we do not, consequently, give all the praise which Columbus deserved, when he asserted that land would be discovered by sailing in a westerly direction. The early travellers in Asia had exaggerated the extent of India and China, so that if any credit was given to their narratives, these countries must have reached to the place where America really stands. From these false premises, Columbus drew a just conclusion, and endeavoured

* Many persons will remember how difficult these notions appeared when first suggested to their youthful minds; but, in point of fact, the sphericity of the earth is practically unknown to a large number, not only of the uneducated, but of the educated, throughout Europe.

to persuade his cotemporaries that Cathay might be reached by steering right across the Atlantic. They could not comprehend how the supposed fact of Cathay's great extension eastwards was a proof that it would be reached by sailing westwards; and hence the courts to which Columbus first applied, heard his proposals coldly, or rejected them altogether.

Encouraged and supported by Queen Isabella of Spain, Columbus crossed the Atlantic, and on the 11th of October 1492, saw the first American land—the island of St. Salvador. In subsequent voyages, the sphere of discovery was enlarged, and it was in some degree completed when Balboa, in 1513, discovered the Pacific Ocean. It is not necessary to dwell upon the butcheries perpetrated by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, or the vicissitudes to which India has been exposed since Vasco de Gama opened, through the ocean, a highway to its shores. It is of more importance to examine the total change in the direction and order of commerce throughout the world, produced by the discoveries of Gama and Columbus. Trade, forsaking what had hitherto been its natural and necessary course, passed from the land to the ocean, and thus revolutionized all the commercial advantages resulting from geographical position. The coasts of the Atlantic became the site of the universal commerce which had previously belonged to the shores of the Mediterranean. The Spaniards and Portuguese were the first to profit by the change, and they made the natural but pernicious error of applying to new circumstances the narrow policy derived from a far different condition of the world.

Spain did not immediately derive any great advantages from the discovery of the New World. The plunder obtained by the first adventurers, tended little to enrich the parent state; and it was not until the discovery of the mines of Potosi and Sacotecas, that Spain derived a permanent addition of wealth and revenue from her American conquests. Still later was the discovery that these countries could be rendered profitable only by industry and cultivation, and that, to be improved, they must be colonized. The true system of colonization, based on a system of mutual advantage to the settlements and the parent state, was never discovered by the Spaniards. They kept their colonies as an Eastern despot does the beauties of his harem—profitless to themselves, and secluded from others.

The Portuguese, on the contrary, opened a lucrative trade, in manufactured articles and in cultivated produce, with a land where commerce and industry had already received great development. Indeed, the chief value of America to Europe, after its first discovery, was the supply it yielded of the precious metals, which met the drain of gold and silver produced by the earlier stages of the Eastern trade. For a long time India consumed little, if any, of the manufactures of Europe. Its silks, its spices, and its muslins, were exchanged for money only; and the trade could never have extended itself, had not the Spanish colonies supplied the precious metals to meet the demand.

This course of trade greatly tended to the development of manufacturing industry. In order to obtain Mexican and Peruvian dollars, England or Holland ex-

ported to Spain, or its dependencies, a certain quantity of manufactured goods, and thus obtained the means of purchasing Indian produce. The direct export of manufactured goods to Hindostan, is a change that has been wrought almost within our own memory.

As America became cultivated, the Americans furnished a fresh incentive to the manufacturing industry of Europe, by their vast demands for the supply of an increasing population, in countries where cultivation of the soil is still, and must long continue, more profitable than the mechanical arts. The Europeans are the manufacturers for the Americans, and, as a consequence, they are dependent on America for a supply of the raw material.

Manufacturing industry has thus been the result of commercial activity, and in its turn it has re-acted on commerce, and compelled manufacturers to seek for new markets in every quarter of the globe. It has, indeed, become an object of sound policy to plant new nations of purchasers,—to send out colonies to distant lands, where articles of produce may be raised valuable in the markets of the parent state, and therefore fit to be exchanged for the results of its manufacturing industry.

The colonies of Modern Europe have been divided, by Heeren, into four classes.* Of these he ranks *Agricultural Colonies*, first. In these, the object is the cultivation of the soil and other natural advantages of the country. The colonists become landed proprietors from the outset, and in process of time may be expected to form a nation. The second class comprises *Plan-*

* See Heeren's *European State System*, vol. i. p. 36.

tation Colonies, whose object is the supply of certain natural productions, such as sugars, spices, etc. which are highly valued in Europe. In these, though the colonists are proprietors, they are less attached to the soil than in the preceding class. In many instances, they are non-residents, acting by stewards and agents. In none, do they aspire to forming a nation. Slavery is almost peculiar to this form of colony, and cannot long subsist when it changes to the agricultural. *Mining Colonies* form the third class, the nature and objects of which are sufficiently explained by the name. The fourth class consists of *Trading Colonies*, whose object is, a traffic in the natural productions of the country, whether of land or sea; as, for instance, the cinnamon and pearls of Ceylon; and also in manufactured articles. These consist, at first, of nothing more than factories or staples for the convenience of trade; but force or fraud soon enlarge them, and the colonists become conquerors, without, however, losing sight of the original object of their settlement. Though masters of the country, they are too little attached to it to become naturalized. We may, unfortunately, add to these a fifth class — *Penal Colonies*, receptacles for the drainage of moral pollution from the parent state. These may, however, be referred to the agricultural class, for they are destined to become nations.

Without examining the merits of these several modes of colonization, it is obvious that their existence must have led to examinations and discussions by which truths, valuable to humanity, were elicited. In almost every European country, colonization has engaged a large share of public attention from the varied interests

which it involves ; and it has not only become a powerful agent in altering the relations of society, but it has developed other elements of increasing strength, the consequences of which will not, probably, be appreciated for many generations.

The enlarged stock of public ideas derived from the sources at which we have glanced, were rendered operative by their diffusion through society in consequence of the introduction of the art of making paper and of printing. Before the invention of paper made from linen-rags, parchment was commonly used for copying books, and for all public records ; but, as this was scarce and dear, cotton-paper was frequently purchased from the Arabs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The use of cotton-paper was derived from the remote East. It was first made known to the Saracens, when they conquered Samarcand (A.D. 704), and soon after, a paper manufactory was established at Mecca. China was the country whence the people of Samarcand derived their knowledge of paper, and in that country the art of manufacturing it was discovered more than two centuries before the Christian era. The use of linen was not general in Europe until the commencement of the thirteenth century. The similarity between linen and cotton stuffs must naturally have suggested the possibility of making paper from one as well as the other ; and Germany, where most flax was grown and most linen made, was, probably, the parent of the invention. The oldest paper manufactory of which we have any account, was that established at Nuremberg.

The origin of the invention of the art of printing is much more difficult to be determined than that of

manufacturing paper, probably because it was a discovery made very gradually. From a very remote age the Chinese practised the art of printing from solid blocks, like our modern stereotype plates; and this art was introduced into Europe for the purpose of manufacturing playing-cards. The designs of the cards were engraved on wood, and impressions taken from the blocks nearly a century before the art of printing from moveable types was known. The card-makers soon began to cut pictures of the saints, and sketches of sacred history on the wooden blocks, which were readily purchased for the purpose of illuminating missals and other books of devotion. These wood-engravings probably suggested to Gutenberg the invention of moveable wooden types, which he certainly began to use at Strasburg so early as A. D. 1436. This was followed by the invention of type-founding, which can be clearly traced to Peter Scheffer, A.D. 1456, and of the press at an unknown era. Gutenberg entered into partnership with John Fust or Faustus, a citizen of Mayence, who greatly improved the art, and in that age of superstition was deemed a conjuror on account of his mechanical dexterity.

Such was the use of an art, which has given combination and energy to the public opinion of nations, and bestowed on the entire community a power of sharing in the deliberations of the state. The invention developed no new element of civilization, but it gave intensity and extent to all. In nothing has the influence of printing, and more particularly that of journals, been more remarkably displayed than in the extension and enforcement of individual rights. No

doubt the blessings of the press have been abused, and that the power of personal protection has been made subservient to purposes of personal calumny; but this only shews that the liberty of the press, like every other species of freedom and every element of civilization, must be restricted in order to be possessed. The degree of restraint is difficult in any case to be determined precisely, but there is a rule of adjustment suggested by the experience of all ages, though very frequently neglected; namely, that the proportion of restraint should be limited to the quantity exactly necessary for the preservation of the community. And for this limitation of restriction to a minimum, the reason is at once apparent, for in the words of Mr. Burke—"Liberty is a good to be approved, not an evil to be lessened."

The liberty of the press is not merely a restraint upon the usurpations of the government, it is in a still greater degree a check upon the passions of the people. Political discussion renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defence, full of resources. In despotic countries the people judge of an ill principle in government only by its working itself into an actual grievance, they thus lure despotism into working out its own ruin, and allow evils to accumulate until there are no means of remedy but the subversion of the institution. Where there is a free press they anticipate the evil, and judge of the pressure of the future grievance by the badness of the principle. "They augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze."*

* Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America, p. 86.

The value of free discussion as a kind of safety-valve by which dangerous accumulations of popular passion or prejudice may escape without detriment to the machinery of society, is proved by the evils which have arisen from the efforts to repress it; and, on the other hand, by the tranquillity with which great constitutional changes are effected, when their advocates and their opponents have equal facilities for the publication of their opinions. But upon this subject it is not necessary to dilate, as the beneficial effects of free discussion are matter of daily experience.

The general circulation of the Bible, consequent on the facilities derived from the invention of printing, is an element of civilization, the importance of which cannot be too highly estimated. If the power of making an immediate appeal "to the law and to the testimony" has not removed all the errors which crept into the Christian churches during the dark ages, it has greatly abated their intensity and their influence. The offensive doctrines are no longer maintained in their ancient force, those who nominally hold them are forced to explain them away; error thus capitulates with truth, and perhaps we may say with some justice that it is only obstinate where the friends of truth push the rights of victory to the utmost, and refuse the vanquished the empty honours of war. But more important is it to observe that the general diffusion of the Scriptures prevents the introduction of new errors, or at least the development of injurious novelties in the Christian system. It would be a curious and not unprofitable task, to compare the religious aberrations of the last century with those of any that have preceded

it, for the result would shew the conservative influence of the circulation of the Bible in a form that might defy contradiction. It would prove that a guide is accompanying the onward march of generations; that the pillar of cloud and pillar of fire have directed the progress of humanity, and saved Christian nations from being lost in that desert where the pomp of Babylon, the glory of Greece, and the pride of Rome, have for ever perished.

It would scarcely be consistent with the plan of this work to omit noticing the wondrous development of a new agent or element of civilization, the astonishing results of which are daily rising in fresh and unexpected forms before our eyes—the use of steam as a motive power, the progress of machinery and manufactures, and the rapid accumulation of large masses of people in manufacturing districts, are formative powers, almost created before our eyes. There can be no doubt that these circumstances are producing an immense and increasing influence on the destinies of Europe, and that they will modify if not direct the civilization of the coming age. But experience will give us little help in determining the nature of the influence they may exercise, for the steam-engine, the cotton-mill, and the rail-road, have had no precedents; history furnishes no rule for their management. So rapidly did they pass through their stage of infancy, that they had taken their position in society and firmly established themselves before there was time to prepare a place for their reception.

Such potent novelties, developing themselves with equal force and rapidity, necessarily dislocated and disturbed all existing institutions; and a considerable

amount of suffering must have been produced, and perhaps may still be expected, before the nice process of adjustment between the old and the new elements of society can be fairly arranged. There are some who see nought but evil, and there are others who can discover nothing but perfection, in the Factory system; and while the rival advocates are disputing about such opposite views, the system itself is permitted to hold its onward course, unregulated, or at best left to the guidance of chance and caprice. Without entering on any controverted points, we may perhaps be permitted to direct attention to some of the acknowledged facts respecting the moral consequences of the factory system, and to point out their bearings on the destinies of the rising generation.

It is an admitted evil, that population has accumulated in certain districts beyond the means of finding proper accommodations. Sewerage, drainage, ventilation, and the supply of water, have been neglected in the haste to provide dwellings for the multitudes that aggregate round a factory. The operatives have been forced to locate themselves in crowded cellars and lodging-rooms, where the means of preserving those great safeguards of virtue, decency and modesty, are wholly wanting. From these evils many lamentable consequences, which will scarcely bear to be described, have notoriously followed; they have produced physical disease and moral corruption to an extent that could scarcely be exaggerated. But these evils are not beyond the power of amendment; and in fact the several municipalities have adopted measures of amelioration, which, though as yet inadequate to the exigencies of the

case, are a considerable advance on the road to improvement.

The process of adjustment between the old means of accommodation and the accumulated masses for whom provision must be made, is very far from being of simple and easy attainment. But nevertheless it must be diligently sought, for we cannot get rid of the factory system if we would. The wildest declaimers against its evils have never proposed that mills should be closed by act of parliament, or the use of spinning-jennies and power-looms be forbidden in England. It is therefore of the utmost importance to keep steadily in view, that all the remedies devised should combine the perpetuation, and even extension of manufactures with the means for preventing the evils to which they have given rise. These are conditions which cannot easily be fulfilled, but it is needless to dwell on their obvious necessity.

The employment of infant-labour is very generally urged as the worst feature in the factory system; but it is generally recognised that this is a result of a greater evil, and in many cases an alleviation of it, arising from the disturbance of the parental and filial relations in manufacturing districts. The operatives are absent from home all day; and in many cases, from the crowded state of the lodging-houses, have no opportunity for conversation or social union with their families at night. Hence there is a want of those domestic feelings reciprocally fostered by domestic intercourse—a want which to the operatives themselves is “a craving void,” scarcely suspected by those who are not intimate with their condition. Mothers remain at the mill during the pe-

riod of their pregnancy to the very last hour of physical endurance, and they return to work at the earliest possible moment after their recovery. Hence there is a sad waste of infant life during the periods of lactation and teething; and when this critical time is past, there is an absence of parental care and superintendence, which exposes children to forming habits of vagrancy and idleness.

Now it is one of the clearest results established by experience, that the parental and filial relations are the most powerful of the conservative bonds that hold together the moral condition of society. Can we, without horror, reflect on the state of a human being abandoned to all the chances of contamination that surround mankind, without shield or protection from earliest infancy?

Where shall his hope find rest?—No mother's care
Protects his infant innocence with prayer;
No father's guardian hand his youth maintains,
Calls forth his virtues, or from vice restrains.

The loss of the moral influence which the sight of infant innocence exerts on the parental mind, is not to be less lamented. A child is a moral instructor, and the silent lessons it inculcates are felt by the most vitiated and depraved. The value of the sermons preached by the cradle, has never been fully estimated; but those who have visited our prisons, and who have had to deal with the most hardened criminals, know that there is a well-spring of affection in a father's heart, which even the fires of the worst guilt have not dried up, and the name of a child, like the wand of the prophet, has drawn living waters from the flinty rock.

The loosening of the bonds between parents and children in the manufacturing districts, is a moral injury to both, for which not they, but the condition of society, should be held responsible. There is no doubt that the evil could be greatly mitigated. The opening of halls and gardens, where innocent relaxation and the opportunities of social converse might be cheaply or even gratuitously obtained, is an obvious remedy for the worst part of the results, and would, besides, check the temptation to intemperance—a vice to which the labouring classes are too often forced by the utter impossibility of obtaining the recreation, which is an imperious want of humanity, from any other source.

Confined all day to the factories, and, for the most part, wanting a place in which families could meet conveniently, it is evident that the operatives can devote little time or care to the education of their children; and, but for the interference of public and private benevolence, the young would grow up without any systematic instruction whatever. When we consider that education is the preparation of the mind for the scene in which it is to act, the condition of children abandoned by their parents and neglected by the state, appears truly horrible. Much injury has been done by representing the matter as a question between education and no-education: but in this world there is no such thing as non-education. Every human being is educated; that is, his principles are derived, and his manners framed, from the society with which he is surrounded. When a lady told Archbishop Sharpe that she would not give her children religious instruction until they reached mature age, the prelate replied

with equal wit and wisdom, "Madam, if you do not teach them the devil will." In the absence of proper educators, depravity supplies a host of active teachers, whose capabilities are proved by the hosts of promising pupils that surround us. The pickpocket, the thief, the poacher, are all highly educated; and the new class of juvenile delinquents, the robbers of shop-tills and counters, are educated not only intellectually but physically, for they glide along the ground noiselessly as snakes, and exhibiting the same lubricity and elasticity, while, if caught, they can mimic the cries of starvation and disease so admirably, that they are often rescued from the hands of justice by the false compassion of the multitude.

Without entering at all into the question of National Education, it may be stated, without offence to any party, that some system of juvenile instruction and restraint is absolutely necessary in the manufacturing districts, as a simple measure of police, to supply the absence of parental control; and if facts are required to illustrate a truth sufficiently obvious from the nature of the case, they may be found in the Constabulary Reports, where we find that the palm of skill, ingenuity, and hardihood, is conceded to the juvenile delinquents of Manchester by the unanimous consent of the thieves of Great Britain.

The anxiety of parents in these districts to obtain employment for their children at an early age, must not always be attributed to avarice; a much more common motive is the anxiety "to keep them out of harm's way." Hence any absolute prohibition of juvenile labour may be seriously injurious to the children them-

selves. It is easy to turn them out of the factory, but then comes the question—What is to be done with them? Are they to be turned as vagrants into the streets, in order to keep up a regular supply of delinquents? Or, are they to be sent, as is not unusual, to work in the mine until they are old enough to work in the factory? These are questions of no easy solution; and they are, therefore, usually omitted in all discussions of the subject. It is truly desirable that government should take the guardianship of these helpless beings, virtually deprived of parental care; their state-protectors might beneficially interfere to regulate the nature and duration of their labours, but to deprive them of work altogether, aggravates their poverty, exposes them to temptation, and leads them to crime. We have selected a few of the most prominent evils developed in the new state of society; for *new* our manufacturing population indisputably is,—and we have seen that these evils are not so much attributable to the influence of machinery, or the factory system which is based on machinery, as to the inconsistency between that system and the ancient established institutions. A system of adaptation and adjustment might therefore be expected to remedy much of the evil, which want of harmony between the facts and the rules of society has produced. It would be easy to multiply examples of this inconsistency, and trace its results in corresponding evils; but such a discussion would be of inconvenient length, and would, besides, involve controversial topics which might awake angry passions in some, and painful feelings in others.

But, notwithstanding the drawbacks just mentioned,

it requires very little attention to discover that the factory system tends to the advancement of civilization, and will be more and more effective in the improvement of society as it gradually bends and forces institutions into harmony with its exigences. We do not speak of the vast amount of physical comforts that may be commanded by a small quantity of capital, nor of the facilities afforded to industrial activity in accumulating and realizing capital—though these are of vast importance, inasmuch as the moral state of every community must, to a great extent, depend on its physical condition ; but in the factory system, viewed solely in reference to employers and operatives, there are elements of moral greatness and moral goodness, whose influence has increased and is increasing.

One of the most striking of these elements is Confidence: it is impossible to travel through a manufacturing district without being astounded at beholding the millions of property that remain at the mercy of the ashes of a tobacco-pipe. Were there any danger of such an insurrection as the Jacquerie, or Jack Cade rebellion among the operatives, all the military force of England could not defend the property accumulated in the single county of Lancaster. If Swing and Rock took cotton instead of corn for the subject of their experiments, the mischief, which could by no possibility be prevented, would be incalculable. But capitalists invest their money in mills and machinery without any dread of the incendiary, and operatives behold the structures rise without ever anticipating that they will become their prisons. When a foreigner, some time since, asked a party of operatives, if they did not regard

the mills of Manchester as a kind of Bastilles, they not only laughed him to scorn, but were thoroughly persuaded of his insanity.

This feeling of general confidence and security extends into individual relations. There may be avaricious and tyrannical mill-owners, but it is so obviously their interest to disguise avarice and tyranny, that they must assume the appearance at least of the contrary virtues. The peculiarity of the connexion between the employer and the operatives forces their relation to be equitable, and the fact of equity being established, the feeling naturally follows. This relation is, indeed, no way similar to that between a vassal and a feudal lord, for the operative is as destitute of the dependence of the one, as the employer is of the power of the other;—it is a moral tie, derived from a sense of reciprocal benefits, and cemented by a sense of mutual justice.

An anecdote recorded by Mr. Villermé, in his recent work on the Physical and Moral Condition of the French Operatives, is too remarkable an illustration of this important truth to be omitted. “After the first insurrection of the workmen of Lyons in 1831, the founder of the beautiful factory La Sauvagère, in the vicinity of that city, was quite astonished on going out of his house on the morning of the second day of the riots to find a man posted as sentinel on his gate whom he recognised as a workman that he had dismissed for improper conduct. “What are you doing there?” he inquired. “I am mounting guard over you.” “Mounting guard over me! Why?” “Because all your workmen have entered into an association for your defence: there are twelve of them posted in the factory, and we will relieve

each other so long as this row lasts." "But you are not one of my workmen : I turned you off." "True, sir ; but I deserved it : I was in the wrong." *

There is no need to go to France for such examples : it was the author's good fortune not long ago to visit the extensive manufactory at Hyde, in Cheshire, and to be accompanied by the proprietor, Mr. Thomas Ashton, in the inspection of the works and of the village where the operatives reside. It would be impossible to describe the respectful gratitude evinced by the workmen to their employer wherever he appeared ; it was a delightful union of perfect devotedness and perfect independence. There was silence in his presence, and prayers for his prosperity when he withdrew. As we passed through the village, wives and matrons stood at their doors to breathe a blessing as he moved along :

E'en children follow'd with endearing wile,
And plucked his *coat* to share the good man's smile ;
His ready smile a parent's warmth exprest,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distrest.

There was no parade of affection, no ostentation of reverence—it was obviously plain, every-day feeling, to which all parties were so accustomed, that it never entered into their heads that it would be noticed, much less admired by a stranger, and should this page meet the eye of any of them, it will be their first intimation that the circumstances were observed.

The description of a well-conducted factory suggests so many gratifying images to the mind, that we cannot withhold from our readers an abstract of a very interesting report of the Township of Hyde, made to the

* Villerme, vol. ii. 59.

Statistical Section of the British Association during its meeting at Newcastle, and published in the 567th Number of the Athenæum.

“ Mr. Felkin, of Nottingham, read ‘ An Abstract of the Annual Report of the Overseers of the Township of Hyde, in Cheshire,’ with explanatory statements, the result of recent personal inquiry. There are nine paupers resident in Hyde, four men and five women, of which the former received 26*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, and the latter 29*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; there were twenty-four other cases of pauper expense, which on the whole amounted to 207*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* Fifteen fathers paid 62*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* for their illegitimate children, and sixteen mothers received 64*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* for the support of such children. This township contained in 1800 only 830 inhabitants, and the poor-rate was 12*s.* per head per annum. At present the number of inhabitants is 11,000, and the poor-rate is 6*d.* per head per annum. The inhabitants are principally employed in spinning yarn, and weaving powerloom cloth, in coal-mining to supply fuel for working the mills, and in the ordinary retail business of a small market town. The unusually low rate for the maintenance of the poor, induced inquiries into the state of the population. Mr. Felkin found from 1500 to 1600 hands employed in the mills he visited, and in other establishments there were 4500 hands. The number of steam-engines is thirty-five. The 1500 or 1600 first mentioned were paid fortnightly, at an average of 1000*l.* per week:—viz. children 3*s.* to 5*s.*; women 12*s.*; men 24*s.* or 25*s.* The exact average of weekly earnings had been ascertained to be 12*s.* 6*d.* A page of seventy-three names of men shewed, on a fair average of earn-

ings, 229*l.* per fortnight, which is 31*s.* 4*d.* a-week each man, or 78*l.* 15*s.* per year. The average earning of 120 families, whose members were wholly employed in those works, was found to be equal to 6*s.* 10½*d.* per head per week, including every individual of them. Some families were so large, and so many of the children employed, that the income of each was from 200*l.* to 300*l.* per annum, and one received upwards of 400*l.* per annum. In these works 48,000*lbs.* of cotton wool is spun into yarn, No. 24, and woven by 1200 looms working at the rate of 125 shoots per minute, into 1500 pieces of twenty-five yards long, or twenty miles in length of cloth, averaging a yard in breadth. Few changes take place among the hands; and upon recently taking an accurate census, it was ascertained that none had ever been pauperized, nor had a relative living in the place who had received parish relief. There have been only three committals for felonies in thirty-six years, and these were not of major importance. Twice a year the works are closed for eight days, and the men during this time visit London, Liverpool, the Isle of Man, etc. These excursions are found highly beneficial, the men always returning more contented with their own homes. The appearance of the people is, on the whole, healthy, and as clean as the nature of their several employments will permit. Great freedom was shewn in the intercourse of the workmen with their employers, but without any appearance of disrespect. Some families, as it was well expressed, live a week too fast, and are always indebted to the shopkeepers, but thriftiness on the whole is on the increase. Ten of the men have built out of their savings forty-six freehold houses, pro-

ducing the average rent of 7*l.* 10*s.* each. One young woman, originally a destitute orphan, had saved and laid out on mortgage upwards of 100*l.* One man, who had not received high wages, and whose wife was so infirm as to be carried to bed for more than twenty years, and who had also brought up seven children, has from his savings become possessed of seven houses, producing fifty guineas a-year. The houses constructed by the men for themselves are generally larger and more substantial than those built by the master. They were generally clean and well furnished. The operatives are benevolent to each other; are fond of music; a Bible or Testament was found in every house, and in most cases some political or religious books. An infant and day school are established under competent masters, and are well conducted. Vacant situations in the factory are filled almost invariably by aspirants on the spot. It was hoped, that this example of the effects, which have resulted from restraining influence and judicious kindness, might excite large manufacturers to similar exertions, and that their success would be proved by the best of all possible tests, the absence of pauperism."

It is a probable tendency of the Factory system to increase this healthy and moral relation between the capitalist and the operative, because it is the immediate interest of both parties, but more especially of the master, that such a relation should exist. "No tyrant ever made money" is a common aphorism in the manufacturing districts, and with persons disposed to tyranny, such an aphorism will have more weight than all the reasoning of Aristotle, backed by all the eloquence of Cicero.

Among the operatives there is continually manifested a growing sense of the superiority of moral force to physical strength. Mischievous as *strikes* and *turns out* are, they exhibit features which must afford some consolation to the philanthropist and the moralist. There is a firmness of purpose displayed on these occasions, an iron spirit of endurance, which it would be the worst of all mistakes to confound with sulky obstinacy: it is the repose of conscious strength; it is founded on a mistaken notion of right, but in spite of the mistake, the notion of rectitude whenever present, cannot but be influential, and hence it is an invariable rule, that whenever a strike has led to an act of violence, the whole matter is at once ended—the moral cohesion which held the workmen together is melted and solved by crime; each man is anxious to disclaim any participation in outrage, and quietly returns to his employment.

It is scarcely possible to speak of the vast accumulation of masses of human beings in the manufacturing districts, “the crowded hives” as they have been called, without something like anxiety and apprehension. Our conceptions of them clothe themselves in terms that have something portentous and fearful. We speak not of them indeed as of sudden convulsions, tempestuous seas, or furious hurricanes, but as of the slow rising and gradually swelling of an ocean, which must at some future and not distant time bear all the elements of society aloft upon its bosom. We cannot disguise from ourselves, that in the development of such potent elements, there is much to fear, but there is also much to hope. The principles of safety are not far to seek,

and when they are secured, the principles of prosperity will develop themselves. That many will dissent from these views is highly probable: no new element of society was ever developed that did not excite alarm and produce peril; but that peril has ever been aggravated by the alarmists endeavouring to destroy the element instead of regulating its courses. To destroy the Factory system is not practicable, if it were desirable, nor quite desirable if practicable. But though we cannot destroy, we may use and regulate; we may so mould the course of its development as to render it the source of increased morality, increased prosperity, and increased social happiness to the British empire, and to every individual that empire contains.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIETY, ILLUSTRATED IN THE EFFORTS MADE FOR THE RELIEF AND IMPROVEMENT OF HUMANITY, BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE BENEVOLENCE.

IN nothing is the superiority of the modern systems of civilization over the ancient more manifest and striking, than in the institutions which have been established in every Christian country for the relief of suffering humanity. "The poor you have always with you," said the Founder of our faith, not to discourage us from exertion, by describing poverty as an evil without remedy, but to stimulate benevolence, by shewing that there would always be objects for its exercise. In our own days, however, when the elements of society are so numerous, so fully developed, and in such active operation, a doubt has been raised whether the interference of benevolence does not occasion derangements of the social machinery, more mischievous than the evils it undertook to remove; and persons the most conspicuous for their philanthropic feelings, have laid before the world indisputable proof that many of the efforts of public and private benevolence have added incalculably to the amount of misery.

Proposals have been made to subject benevolence to limitations and restraint, and these have been met, as we mentioned in a previous chapter, by denunciations

of cold-blooded philosophy, by assertions that "the head had absorbed the heart,"* and almost express declarations that science is the enemy of the poor. There has been a little violence, and not a little exaggeration displayed by the opposite parties, which might have been avoided if the terms of the dispute had been settled previous to the commencement of the discussion. The proper aim and object of civilization is to remove the evils and elevate the condition of society; the expressed purpose of benevolence is to accomplish this object for one class of society, the poor; and no one ever denied that, to a certain extent, it may attain that end. Benevolence then appears to be an element of civilization, and may therefore reasonably be expected to be subject to the same laws as the other elements which we have previously examined.

Now we have found that every social element which we have examined became false and mischievous from the moment it became absolute and exclusive; it is, therefore, a presumption, that a benevolence which excluded every extrinsic consideration—which looked merely to the gratification of feeling in the giver, and immediate relief in the receiver—may possibly become false and pernicious. It is scarcely possible to avoid this discussion; poverty meets us in every view that we take of civilization, in every question that is raised respecting social order. It is an element of the highest importance in every thing connected with the tranquillity of states and the destiny of nations.

Poverty or misery is the result of a failure to fulfil

* This expression occurs in one of the many pamphlets written against Malthus, but I have lost the reference.

those conditions which society has imposed on social existence; hence what is poverty in one country may be comparative luxury in another. But we must not hence conclude that in such a case, the distress is less real or less entitled to relief, than it would be, if it stood lower in the scale of destitution: the purpose of relief is not to keep man in existence, but to preserve him in society, and therefore it must enable him to fulfil the conditions of that society, or be wholly unavailing.

Men may fail to fulfil these conditions from original feebleness, from disproportion between their powers and the requisites demanded, or from neglect of duty. But though from a consideration of these causes, it might seem easy to form classes of indigence, yet human life does not admit of such logical arrangement. It is not difficult mentally to separate responsible indigence—misery which the sufferer has brought upon himself, from irresponsible indigence, produced by circumstances over which the unfortunate have no control: but when we come to apply this distinction practically in life, we find that those who seem to have been most obviously reduced by the force of circumstances, have still to blame themselves for some acts of folly or imprudence, which at least accelerated their fall; while those who have sunk from indolence, folly, or neglect, have in general some excuse to plead, in events against which no human foresight could have provided.

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benevolence may be rendered operative in forwarding the progress of society, in removing the dark spots of civilization, or, to borrow an illustration from manufactures, in diminishing the friction, and the wear and tear of machinery.

As the pressure of indigence may be considered as the greatest social danger against which the community or the state has to take precautions, the investigation now proposed may be regarded as an inquiry into the conservative principles of society. In the former chapter indigence and benevolence were examined chiefly in their relations to the receivers and bestowers of bounty individually; we now advance farther, and propose to seek how both affect general society. It may not be possible to avoid a little repetition, but this we trust will be excused on account of the importance of the inquiry. It must not, however, be supposed that anything like a complete investigation of the subject is to be expected; such a labour would indeed be of incalculable value, but it would require the devotion of more than one life, and the results would occupy several volumes. It is designed only to touch upon some of the most prominent points which force themselves upon attention, and to examine some of the principles most intimately connected with what may be called—the Conservation of Society.

We have said that original feebleness to fulfil the conditions of social existence is one of the causes of that failure which produces indigence and misery. The feebleness of infancy will at once suggest itself to every mind, and no one will deny that it requires aid and protection. There is very little chance of controversy being raised respecting the nature of the aid: it

consists of two parts, the means of support while the child is unable to work, and such an education as will enable the boy or girl to earn a subsistence hereafter.

Here it becomes necessary to guard against misapprehension. By education we do mean reading or writing, which indeed are means of education, rather than education itself; but instruction in some art or occupation of life, whether belonging to the field or to the workshop, by which means of support may be obtained; and we do not mean that this should be supplied by the state, that is by society, nor without the aid of the state, exclusively by the parents, we merely contend that it should be supplied by somebody. The reason is obvious; unless such instruction be supplied, the child grows up unable to fulfil the conditions of society, becomes a *pariah* or outcast, and is interested in the overthrow instead of in the conservation of the community from which he is necessarily expelled.

Antecedent to education, there is a necessity for providing subsistence, a care which in ordinary circumstances devolves upon the parents. There are three ways in which children may be deprived of the protection destined for them by Providence—the death, the abandonment, or the destitution of their parents. The orphan heads the long list of the unfortunate, and there is none whose claim is more sacred or more generally recognised. But it is not sufficient to inquire whether orphans have lost their father or their mother, or both, it must be further asked whether they have any grown brothers or sisters, or any near relatives, who can contribute to their support, and further, whether they are willing to do so.

selves. It is easy to turn them out of the factory, but then comes the question—What is to be done with them? Are they to be turned as vagrants into the streets, in order to keep up a regular supply of delinquents? Or, are they to be sent, as is not unusual, to work in the mine until they are old enough to work in the factory? These are questions of no easy solution; and they are, therefore, usually omitted in all discussions of the subject. It is truly desirable that government should take the guardianship of these helpless beings, virtually deprived of parental care; their state-protectors might beneficially interfere to regulate the nature and duration of their labours, but to deprive them of work altogether, aggravates their poverty, exposes them to temptation, and leads them to crime. We have selected a few of the most prominent evils developed in the new state of society; for *new* our manufacturing population indisputably is,—and we have seen that these evils are not so much attributable to the influence of machinery, or the factory system which is based on machinery, as to the inconsistency between that system and the ancient established institutions. A system of adaptation and adjustment might therefore be expected to remedy much of the evil, which want of harmony between the facts and the rules of society has produced. It would be easy to multiply examples of this inconsistency, and trace its results in corresponding evils; but such a discussion would be of inconvenient length, and would, besides, involve controversial topics which might awake angry passions in some, and painful feelings in others.

But, notwithstanding the drawbacks just mentioned,

it requires very little attention to discover that the factory system tends to the advancement of civilization, and will be more and more effective in the improvement of society as it gradually bends and forces institutions into harmony with its exigences. We do not speak of the vast amount of physical comforts that may be commanded by a small quantity of capital, nor of the facilities afforded to industrial activity in accumulating and realizing capital—though these are of vast importance, inasmuch as the moral state of every community must, to a great extent, depend on its physical condition ; but in the factory system, viewed solely in reference to employers and operatives, there are elements of moral greatness and moral goodness, whose influence has increased and is increasing.

One of the most striking of these elements is Confidence: it is impossible to travel through a manufacturing district without being astounded at beholding the millions of property that remain at the mercy of the ashes of a tobacco-pipe. Were there any danger of such an insurrection as the Jacquerie, or Jack Cade rebellion among the operatives, all the military force of England could not defend the property accumulated in the single county of Lancaster. If Swing and Rock took cotton instead of corn for the subject of their experiments, the mischief, which could by no possibility be prevented, would be incalculable. But capitalists invest their money in mills and machinery without any dread of the incendiary, and operatives behold the structures rise without ever anticipating that they will become their prisons. When a foreigner, some time since, asked a party of operatives, if they did not regard

the mills of Manchester as a kind of Bastilles, they not only laughed him to scorn, but were thoroughly persuaded of his insanity.

This feeling of general confidence and security extends into individual relations. There may be avaricious and tyrannical mill-owners, but it is so obviously their interest to disguise avarice and tyranny, that they must assume the appearance at least of the contrary virtues. The peculiarity of the connexion between the employer and the operatives forces their relation to be equitable, and the fact of equity being established, the feeling naturally follows. This relation is, indeed, no way similar to that between a vassal and a feudal lord, for the operative is as destitute of the dependence of the one, as the employer is of the power of the other;—it is a moral tie, derived from a sense of reciprocal benefits, and cemented by a sense of mutual justice.

An anecdote recorded by Mr. Villermé, in his recent work on the Physical and Moral Condition of the French Operatives, is too remarkable an illustration of this important truth to be omitted. “After the first insurrection of the workmen of Lyons in 1831, the founder of the beautiful factory La Sauvagère, in the vicinity of that city, was quite astonished on going out of his house on the morning of the second day of the riots to find a man posted as sentinel on his gate whom he recognised as a workman that he had dismissed for improper conduct. “What are you doing there?” he inquired. “I am mounting guard over you.” “Mounting guard over me! Why?” “Because all your workmen have entered into an association for your defence: there are twelve of them posted in the factory, and we will relieve

each other so long as this row lasts." "But you are not one of my workmen: I turned you off." "True, sir; but I deserved it: I was in the wrong." *

There is no need to go to France for such examples: it was the author's good fortune not long ago to visit the extensive manufactory at Hyde, in Cheshire, and to be accompanied by the proprietor, Mr. Thomas Ashton, in the inspection of the works and of the village where the operatives reside. It would be impossible to describe the respectful gratitude evinced by the workmen to their employer wherever he appeared; it was a delightful union of perfect devotedness and perfect independence. There was silence in his presence, and prayers for his prosperity when he withdrew. As we passed through the village, wives and matrons stood at their doors to breathe a blessing as he moved along:

E'en children follow'd with endearing wile,
And plucked his *coat* to share the good man's smile;
His ready smile a parent's warmth exprest,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distress.

There was no parade of affection, no ostentation of reverence—it was obviously plain, every-day feeling, to which all parties were so accustomed, that it never entered into their heads that it would be noticed, much less admired by a stranger, and should this page meet the eye of any of them, it will be their first intimation that the circumstances were observed.

The description of a well-conducted factory suggests so many gratifying images to the mind, that we cannot withhold from our readers an abstract of a very interesting report of the Township of Hyde, made to the

* Villerme, vol. ii. 59.

Statistical Section of the British Association during its meeting at Newcastle, and published in the 567th Number of the Athenæum.

“ Mr. Felkin, of Nottingham, read ‘ An Abstract of the Annual Report of the Overseers of the Township of Hyde, in Cheshire,’ with explanatory statements, the result of recent personal inquiry. There are nine paupers resident in Hyde, four men and five women, of which the former received 26*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, and the latter 29*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; there were twenty-four other cases of pauper expense, which on the whole amounted to 207*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* Fifteen fathers paid 62*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* for their illegitimate children, and sixteen mothers received 64*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* for the support of such children. This township contained in 1800 only 830 inhabitants, and the poor-rate was 12*s.* per head per annum. At present the number of inhabitants is 11,000, and the poor-rate is 6*d.* per head per annum. The inhabitants are principally employed in spinning yarn, and weaving power-loom cloth, in coal-mining to supply fuel for working the mills, and in the ordinary retail business of a small market town. The unusually low rate for the maintenance of the poor, induced inquiries into the state of the population. Mr. Felkin found from 1500 to 1600 hands employed in the mills he visited, and in other establishments there were 4500 hands. The number of steam-engines is thirty-five. The 1500 or 1600 first mentioned were paid fortnightly, at an average of 1000*l.* per week:—viz. children 3*s.* to 5*s.*; women 12*s.*; men 24*s.* or 25*s.* The exact average of weekly earnings had been ascertained to be 12*s.* 6*d.* A page of seventy-three names of men shewed, on a fair average of earn-

ings, 229*l.* per fortnight, which is 31*s.* 4*d.* a-week each man, or 78*l.* 15*s.* per year. The average earning of 120 families, whose members were wholly employed in those works, was found to be equal to 6*s.* 10½*d.* per head per week, including every individual of them. Some families were so large, and so many of the children employed, that the income of each was from 200*l.* to 300*l.* per annum, and one received upwards of 400*l.* per annum. In these works 48,000*lbs.* of cotton wool is spun into yarn, No. 24, and woven by 1200 looms working at the rate of 125 shoots per minute, into 1500 pieces of twenty-five yards long, or twenty miles in length of cloth, averaging a yard in breadth. Few changes take place among the hands; and upon recently taking an accurate census, it was ascertained that none had ever been pauperized, nor had a relative living in the place who had received parish relief. There have been only three committals for felonies in thirty-six years, and these were not of major importance. Twice a year the works are closed for eight days, and the men during this time visit London, Liverpool, the Isle of Man, etc. These excursions are found highly beneficial, the men always returning more contented with their own homes. The appearance of the people is, on the whole, healthy, and as clean as the nature of their several employments will permit. Great freedom was shewn in the intercourse of the workmen with their employers, but without any appearance of disrespect. Some families, as it was well expressed, live a week too fast, and are always indebted to the shopkeepers, but thriftiness on the whole is on the increase. Ten of the men have built out of their savings forty-six freehold houses, pro-

ducing the average rent of 7*l.* 10*s.* each. One young woman, originally a destitute orphan, had saved and laid out on mortgage upwards of 100*l.* One man, who had not received high wages, and whose wife was so infirm as to be carried to bed for more than twenty years, and who had also brought up seven children, has from his savings become possessed of seven houses, producing fifty guineas a-year. The houses constructed by the men for themselves are generally larger and more substantial than those built by the master. They were generally clean and well furnished. The operatives are benevolent to each other; are fond of music; a Bible or Testament was found in every house, and in most cases some political or religious books. An infant and day school are established under competent masters, and are well conducted. Vacant situations in the factory are filled almost invariably by aspirants on the spot. It was hoped, that this example of the effects, which have resulted from restraining influence and judicious kindness, might excite large manufacturers to similar exertions, and that their success would be proved by the best of all possible tests, the absence of pauperism."

It is a probable tendency of the Factory system to increase this healthy and moral relation between the capitalist and the operative, because it is the immediate interest of both parties, but more especially of the master, that such a relation should exist. "No tyrant ever made money" is a common aphorism in the manufacturing districts, and with persons disposed to tyranny, such an aphorism will have more weight than all the reasoning of Aristotle, backed by all the eloquence of Cicero.

Among the operatives there is continually manifested a growing sense of the superiority of moral force to physical strength. Mischievous as *strikes* and *turns out* are, they exhibit features which must afford some consolation to the philanthropist and the moralist. There is a firmness of purpose displayed on these occasions, an iron spirit of endurance, which it would be the worst of all mistakes to confound with sulky obstinacy: it is the repose of conscious strength; it is founded on a mistaken notion of right, but in spite of the mistake, the notion of rectitude whenever present, cannot but be influential, and hence it is an invariable rule, that whenever a strike has led to an act of violence, the whole matter is at once ended—the moral cohesion which held the workmen together is melted and solved by crime; each man is anxious to disclaim any participation in outrage, and quietly returns to his employment.

It is scarcely possible to speak of the vast accumulation of masses of human beings in the manufacturing districts, “the crowded hives” as they have been called, without something like anxiety and apprehension. Our conceptions of them clothe themselves in terms that have something portentous and fearful. We speak not of them indeed as of sudden convulsions, tempestuous seas, or furious hurricanes, but as of the slow rising and gradually swelling of an ocean, which must at some future and not distant time bear all the elements of society aloft upon its bosom. We cannot disguise from ourselves, that in the development of such potent elements, there is much to fear, but there is also much to hope. The principles of safety are not far to seek,

and when they are secured, the principles of prosperity will develop themselves. That many will dissent from these views is highly probable: no new element of society was ever developed that did not excite alarm and produce peril; but that peril has ever been aggravated by the alarmists endeavouring to destroy the element instead of regulating its courses. To destroy the Factory system is not practicable, if it were desirable, nor quite desirable if practicable. But though we cannot destroy, we may use and regulate; we may so mould the course of its development as to render it the source of increased morality, increased prosperity, and increased social happiness to the British empire, and to every individual that empire contains.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIETY, ILLUSTRATED IN THE EFFORTS MADE FOR THE RELIEF AND IMPROVEMENT OF HUMANITY, BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE BENEVOLENCE.

IN nothing is the superiority of the modern systems of civilization over the ancient more manifest and striking, than in the institutions which have been established in every Christian country for the relief of suffering humanity. "The poor you have always with you," said the Founder of our faith, not to discourage us from exertion, by describing poverty as an evil without remedy, but to stimulate benevolence, by shewing that there would always be objects for its exercise. In our own days, however, when the elements of society are so numerous, so fully developed, and in such active operation, a doubt has been raised whether the interference of benevolence does not occasion derangements of the social machinery, more mischievous than the evils it undertook to remove; and persons the most conspicuous for their philanthropic feelings, have laid before the world indisputable proof that many of the efforts of public and private benevolence have added incalculably to the amount of misery.

Proposals have been made to subject benevolence to limitations and restraint, and these have been met, as we mentioned in a previous chapter, by denunciations

of cold-blooded philosophy, by assertions that "the head had absorbed the heart,"* and almost express declarations that science is the enemy of the poor. There has been a little violence, and not a little exaggeration displayed by the opposite parties, which might have been avoided if the terms of the dispute had been settled previous to the commencement of the discussion. The proper aim and object of civilization is to remove the evils and elevate the condition of society; the expressed purpose of benevolence is to accomplish this object for one class of society, the poor; and no one ever denied that, to a certain extent, it may attain that end. Benevolence then appears to be an element of civilization, and may therefore reasonably be expected to be subject to the same laws as the other elements which we have previously examined.

Now we have found that every social element which we have examined became false and mischievous from the moment it became absolute and exclusive; it is, therefore, a presumption, that a benevolence which excluded every extrinsic consideration—which looked merely to the gratification of feeling in the giver, and immediate relief in the receiver—may possibly become false and pernicious. It is scarcely possible to avoid this discussion; poverty meets us in every view that we take of civilization, in every question that is raised respecting social order. It is an element of the highest importance in every thing connected with the tranquillity of states and the destiny of nations.

Poverty or misery is the result of a failure to fulfil

* This expression occurs in one of the many pamphlets written against Malthus, but I have lost the reference.

those conditions which society has imposed on social existence; hence what is poverty in one country may be comparative luxury in another. But we must not hence conclude that in such a case, the distress is less real or less entitled to relief, than it would be, if it stood lower in the scale of destitution: the purpose of relief is not to keep man in existence, but to preserve him in society, and therefore it must enable him to fulfil the conditions of that society, or be wholly unavailing.

Men may fail to fulfil these conditions from original feebleness, from disproportion between their powers and the requisites demanded, or from neglect of duty. But though from a consideration of these causes, it might seem easy to form classes of indigence, yet human life does not admit of such logical arrangement. It is not difficult mentally to separate responsible indigence—misery which the sufferer has brought upon himself, from irresponsible indigence, produced by circumstances over which the unfortunate have no control: but when we come to apply this distinction practically in life, we find that those who seem to have been most obviously reduced by the force of circumstances, have still to blame themselves for some acts of folly or imprudence, which at least accelerated their fall; while those who have sunk from indolence, folly, or neglect, have in general some excuse to plead, in events against which no human foresight could have provided.

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benevolence may be rendered operative in forwarding the progress of society, in removing the dark spots of civilization, or, to borrow an illustration from manufactures, in diminishing the friction, and the wear and tear of machinery.

As the pressure of indigence may be considered as the greatest social danger against which the community or the state has to take precautions, the investigation now proposed may be regarded as an inquiry into the conservative principles of society. In the former chapter indigence and benevolence were examined chiefly in their relations to the receivers and bestowers of bounty individually; we now advance farther, and propose to seek how both affect general society. It may not be possible to avoid a little repetition, but this we trust will be excused on account of the importance of the inquiry. It must not, however, be supposed that anything like a complete investigation of the subject is to be expected; such a labour would indeed be of incalculable value, but it would require the devotion of more than one life, and the results would occupy several volumes. It is designed only to touch upon some of the most prominent points which force themselves upon attention, and to examine some of the principles most intimately connected with what may be called—the Conservation of Society.

We have said that original feebleness to fulfil the conditions of social existence is one of the causes of that failure which produces indigence and misery. The feebleness of infancy will at once suggest itself to every mind, and no one will deny that it requires aid and protection. There is very little chance of controversy being raised respecting the nature of the aid: it

consists of two parts, the means of support while the child is unable to work, and such an education as will enable the boy or girl to earn a subsistence hereafter.

Here it becomes necessary to guard against misapprehension. By education we do mean reading or writing, which indeed are means of education, rather than education itself; but instruction in some art or occupation of life, whether belonging to the field or to the workshop, by which means of support may be obtained; and we do not mean that this should be supplied by the state, that is by society, nor without the aid of the state, exclusively by the parents, we merely contend that it should be supplied by somebody. The reason is obvious; unless such instruction be supplied, the child grows up unable to fulfil the conditions of society, becomes a *pariah* or outcast, and is interested in the overthrow instead of in the conservation of the community from which he is necessarily expelled.

Antecedent to education, there is a necessity for providing subsistence, a care which in ordinary circumstances devolves upon the parents. There are three ways in which children may be deprived of the protection destined for them by Providence—the death, the abandonment, or the destitution of their parents. The orphan heads the long list of the unfortunate, and there is none whose claim is more sacred or more generally recognised. But it is not sufficient to inquire whether orphans have lost their father or their mother, or both, it must be further asked whether they have any grown brothers or sisters, or any near relatives, who can contribute to their support, and further, whether they are willing to do so.

Fully recognising the claim of the orphan to subsistence at the public expense, if it cannot be had in any other way, it is still of importance, without any reference to the saving of public money, to inquire whether such support might not be obtained more efficiently and more beneficially to the child from private sources; not by compulsory, but by spontaneous benevolence. It is very obvious that if there be any institution in the country, or any combination of circumstances, tending to weaken the ties of domestic affection, to deaden the moral feelings by which the members of a family are held together, and, in no small number of instances, to prevent near relatives from having even a personal acquaintance—such an institution, or such a set of circumstances, tends greatly to aggravate the destitution to which orphans are exposed when deprived of their parents, and is so far a destructive agent in society. Now benevolence could do much in facilitating family intercourse; the opening of halls of assembly, of public walks and gardens, of exhibitions of the wonders of nature and art, either gratuitously or at a very low price, and the encouragement of innocent recreations, would all diminish the tendency to isolation and selfishness, produced by the crowded state of the population in large towns.

Children abandoned by their parents are not always illegitimate; neither are the parents always culpable. The parents may be in prison, in the hospital, at sea, or detained at a distance by unavoidable accidents. The old custom of making provision almost exclusively for foundlings was palpably unjust; we shall, therefore, avoid a distinction which led to evil consequences. In

all cases of abandonment, the first duty of the administration is to search out the parents : they are the natural protectors of the child, and are not to be exonerated from the obligation, except in cases of urgent and proved necessity. But it is very doubtful whether, when they are discovered, the child should be given back to them : it would seem a wiser plan to compel them to pay, in proportion to their means, a weekly stipend for the support of the child in some public institution. It is not necessary to enter into the painful details of the evils produced by Foundling Hospitals on the one side, or temptations to infanticide on the other ; for it is plain that the evils of a public and indiscriminate support of children would be greatly diminished, if not entirely averted, by firmly establishing the principle of parental responsibility, continuing during the entire period that the child is unable to support itself.

The question whether society ought or ought not to take charge of a helpless being abandoned by its parents, has been long ago decided by the general feelings of the community ; but in giving such support, society is bound to do all in its power to preserve the principle of parental responsibility inviolate, and while this is kept steadily in view, the subsistence provided for the forsaken infants is a proper exercise of benevolence. A much more difficult question to solve is, the extent of the aid that should be given to poor parents who are not able, without assistance, to maintain their families. Without entering into the danger of encouraging imprudent marriages, or still more imprudent connexions, it seems to be the clear duty of society to provide that

its future members should be so nourished as not to grow up too weak or too sickly for the duties they have to perform; assistance therefore should be afforded; but it would be impossible to assign a general rule, for the circumstances of each case admit of every possible degree of variety.

Society seems to be more deeply interested in the education than in the support of the young; for the number of its members is not of so much importance to its conservation as their character. Having more than once referred to this subject, it will here be sufficient to point out how the education of the young—meaning thereby such a system of training as will best fit them for a useful career in their future life—may be so managed as to become a conservative element of society, and a means for the further development of civilization. In a former chapter we shewed how necessary to the happiness, and almost to the existence of society was the continuance of the domestic affections. Home itself is a school; it nourishes principles of the highest value in human life; every emotion of love, felt or received, is a part of education which cannot safely be disregarded. So far then as is possible, no system of education should totally separate families, or supersede the arrangements of domestic life. Except in very desperate cases, the interchange of affectionate communications between fathers, mothers, children, brothers and sisters, every morning and evening, is of inestimable importance to morality. Cases have come under the personal cognizance of the writer, where parents, vicious but not wholly depraved, have been induced to commence a career of reform by witnessing the gradual

improvement of their children. As they witnessed their progress, and saw them undesignedly revealing the dawnings of intelligence, and the development of moral principles in their little minds, they became more and more attached to them, and unconsciously took those for their examples to whom nature had designed that they should be models themselves. It should, therefore, be a principle in education to keep the bonds of family unbroken. For this reason, everything in the shape of public compulsion should be avoided; there should neither be bribes nor threats held out to the parent, for either of them will render him indifferent to the child's progress, and will render the child careless about pleasing him in turn.

Schools for proselytism are now universally condemned: it was indeed a dangerous thing to teach a child that its parent had erred in the most important of all points—the means of salvation. Such a lesson directly struck at the root of all the respect and reverence which enter so largely into the composition of filial affection; it would have introduced deadly feuds in every family, and banished everything like harmony and concord from the domestic circle. It is not meant that such a result formed any part of the motives that led persons to establish schools more or less directly for the purpose of proselytism: it is certain that they neither wished nor foresaw such a consequence; they only added one to the many instances of the dangers to which benevolence is exposed when its operations are not directed by intelligence.

The feelings of parental responsibility are weakened when the instruction is purely gratuitous. The paltry

saving to the public by demanding payment is not a matter of much importance, but it is of great importance that children should feel themselves indebted to their parents, and that parents should prize the advantages conferred on their children. Many families of the poor could not afford payment in money, but their feelings of self-respect might be preserved if they were allowed to give remuneration by their labour. In the cases of extreme indigence, where payment might be suspended or wholly excused, at the discretion of the managers, the fact should be concealed in the school; the paying and non-paying scholars should sit together without distinction; and if the latter discover their condition, they should be taught to feel that the advantages they receive are owing to the character, the exertions, or the solicitations of their parents—that is, to some exertions made in their behalf. But in every community there is a tendency to estimate the value of anything by the price which it brings in the market. Even children early learn to apply the old saw—

What is the worth of anything
But just so much as it will bring?

Hence it is necessary that some third body, such as a corporation or a committee, should intervene between the pupils and the teachers. There is manifest justice in municipalities and parishes bearing a portion of the charge, for education is an object of public utility, and great good results from its being recognised as such by the authorities with which parents and children are most immediately acquainted.

Every one who has investigated the subject, is aware that it is much more easy to establish schools than to

procure the attendance of scholars, even when admission is gratuitous, and they may therefore naturally conclude that the demand of payment will raise fresh difficulties. But persons of limited intelligence generally value at nothing what they receive for nothing. In all cases, the most ignorant parents; that is to say, precisely the class for whose children it is most necessary to provide the instruction of which they are themselves in need, are those who exhibit most repugnance to accept the boon. Our intellectual and moral wants do not make themselves felt, like our physical necessities: hunger and thirst drive men to seek nourishment, but ignorance, so far from searching after mental food, rejects it when proffered. Parents will sacrifice all the advantages which education would confer on their children, to the trifling profit derived from their service in going on errands, and doing light work at home. Girls suffer more from this cause than boys: in the course of the inquiries made into the state of education by that eminently useful body, the Statistical Society of Manchester, many young girls were pointed out by their mothers as too useful to be sent to school. It was found that though some persons do this without regret, yet others deeply lamented that they were thus compelled to sacrifice the interests of their children to present necessities. In some agricultural districts, however, boys are injured in a similar way by being employed to watch flocks of geese and turkeys, or to keep birds away from the corn-fields.

It is not easy to suggest a remedy for such blind prejudices and pernicious practices. In Germany no man is admitted to the full enjoyment of civil rights

who has not received a certain amount of instruction. It is not likely that such a restriction will ever be adopted in England ; recourse, therefore, must be had to other powers, to the force of morality and of reason. Persuasion is not in the power of society collectively, it belongs not to any public or constituted authority, but it is at the command of each individual who will venture to exert its influence.

Hitherto we have confined ourselves to the benevolent duties of society, and have said nothing respecting private benevolence. But we cannot too soon express our conviction that public benevolence, dissevered from private, would only widen the perilous separation between the classes of society. There is a fearful chasm, or "deep gulf fixed," between the higher and the lower ranks, which cannot be closed by any single sacrifice, like that of the fabled Curtius ; it must be bridged over by a sense of mutual interest, and the communication must constantly be kept open by the interchange of kindness, good-will, and evidences of anxiety for mutual welfare. The rich have it in their power to bestow upon the poor something more valuable than physical relief, more precious than material comfort—they can give sympathy. The alms, however large in amount, flung down with reckless indifference, will not win, and scarcely merit, gratitude : it requires much time, much toil, and much patience, to be a benefactor ; and in the formation of such a character, self-respect, cheerfulness, and good-will, are far more important than pecuniary liberality. From no one do the poor receive assistance with such gratitude as from children ; and when the sons and daughters of the wealthy visit the children of

the poor in sickness and in trouble, their presence is felt like a revelation of light in the soul. "There is a work of our greatest sculptor," * says the American preacher from whom we have more than once quoted, "which represents a child-angel as conducting another child to heaven. Were it not a beautiful vision realized into life? Oh! when I think what rich families may do for poor families, what ministering angels they might be to raise up the low and the fallen to comfort, to virtue, and to heaven, my heart swells at the contemplation, and I say—when *shall* the vision be realized in life?"†

The preacher goes on to say that he despairs not of seeing it realized; neither does the present writer, for he can, from personal knowledge, testify that what Dr. Dewey says of Boston, is with equal truth applicable to many of our large towns. "It is a fact," he says, "and I must state it with some formality, because to most persons it will be new and astonishing, that there is scarcely a poor family in our city which is not regularly visited by some Sunday-school teacher, or tract distributor, or minister at large, with a view to its moral enlightening and renovation. God bless and prosper the noble band who have thus gone forth into our waste places!—they are young men, many of them rising into life, with their own cares and affairs to attend to: they are young women, some of them of our wealthiest families, and others who depend upon the labours of their needle for their subsistence—noble missionaries of mercy! fair sisters of charity! again I bid them God speed! I bless them for my own sake, and for your sake, and in the name of Christ. . . . Within two

* Greenough.

† Dewey's Moral Views, p. 27.

years, I have learned, that the dread wastes which stretched out before me in darkness and silence are filled with benevolent action, that their long-neglected thresholds are tracked thickly over with footsteps of mercy, and their desolate walls are echoing the voices of Christian truth and love."

This is our answer to those who inquire, by what means the prejudices and the ignorance of the poor respecting education and its advantages are to be overcome; the means are before us: we are to conquer by Christian philanthropy, embodied in life and action, kindling its holy fire within the heart, and diffusing its light and heat to all within its sphere;—by the charity which "suffereth long and is kind, which envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, which doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." There are sure grounds for such confidence; the Word of Truth hath spoken it—"CHARITY NEVER FAILETH."

The mighty power which controls all human beings in every class and circumstance of life is judicious kindness, and we may safely trust to its efficacy. But there is a danger to which the benevolent, and even the most enlightened of them, are liable, which requires to be mentioned. There are some who make it a condition of affording relief to the poor that they should send their children to school, or what is far less justifiable, to some particular school. No doubt every person has a clear, indisputable right to fix the conditions on which

he bestows any portion of his property; we may add also, that it is a duty to extend the blessings of a sound education; but there still remains the question, whether the exercise of the right tends to the performance of the duty. A sinister purpose is not unjustly suspected whenever a bribe is offered; the great lesson to be taught to poor families is, that the education of their children is an obligation imposed upon themselves, and the attainment of it an advantage gained by themselves. The counsels of mild persuasion will impress such a conviction, but the exercise of constraint will have the very contrary effect.*

The duties of private benevolence do not stop here. The children of the poor require clothing, books, writing materials, and sometimes food, in order that they may profit by their schools. These requisites are sometimes supplied by the public, sometimes by associated charity, and sometimes by private benevolence. Without quite discarding the two former, it seems to be important that more prominence should be given to the latter. There is something painful and repulsive in the sight of charitable uniform and parish livery; a child ticketed and labelled as a pauper is exposed to the danger of losing that self-respect which is the only sure foundation of moral character. An association is likely

* It is, however, necessary to mention, that in one instance within the author's knowledge something not unlike moral force was beneficially exercised. A gentleman who employed several labourers, made it a rule never to pay any sum, however small, without getting a receipt. The shame which those who were unable to write their names felt in setting their marks, though no observation was made on the circumstance, had a perceptible effect in inducing them to seek instruction for their children, and in more than one instance for themselves.

to obtain individual gratitude, but it may provide materials and juvenile dresses at a cheap rate, to be given on the production of tickets from the subscribers, leaving individual discretion to determine whether payment in whole or in part should be taken for the articles, or whether they should be distributed gratuitously. The great lesson of modern civilization is, that in all things we should give importance to man in his individuality; and there is some danger that this truth may be, if not lost, at least neglected, by too implicit a reliance on societies and associations.

It is not enough to shew that children should be sent to school; we have yet to inquire what kind of a school is desirable. The ordinary idea of such an instruction comprises, a room of some sort or other, children seated round on benches, and teachers giving instruction of some sort or other in reading, writing, arithmetic, and perhaps the catechism. Is more to be desired? Assuredly there is: the first great requisite is wanting—a perceived connexion between the business of school and the practical objects of life. Docility, subordination, and attention, can only be secured when the children are taught to understand what all this study is for. Our object is not to make readers, writers, and arithmeticians, but to form men and citizens. Their future lot demands bodily exertion, they should therefore be physically educated; means should be used to ensure bodily health and facilitate muscular development. A great portion of their future comfort will depend on their being what is usually called *handy*; let the boys then learn the use of carpenters' tools, and the girls be instructed in needlework. The most obvious and per-

nicious result of popular ignorance is, that the uninstructed patiently acquiesce in hereditary error on the one hand, and are liable to be deluded by plausible impostors on the other. Let the children then be taught to think; let their powers of observation be cultivated; and let the habit of inference be formed by careful, repeated, and varied questions. They have to pass through a career of life beset with perils, exposed to temptations, inevitably subject to more or less of misfortunes; give them the only principle of strength in the day of trial, and of comfort in the hour of suffering—*write religion in their hearts*. If you ask what kind or form of religion, the Scriptures supply the answer: it must be “first pure, then peaceable, full of good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy;” it must “add to godliness brotherly-kindness, and to brotherly-kindness charity.” This is the description of the religion by which a nation is to be guarded and improved, and it can only be communicated by those in whose hearts it is felt and experienced.

But it may be said that such a system of instruction requires teachers of a peculiar kind, and imposes onerous duties on the school-masters and mistresses. No doubt of it; the art of teaching does not, as Sir Walter Scott says of farming and gig-driving, come by nature. It is sufficiently notorious that the management of schools has been frequently entrusted to decayed tradesmen, superannuated servants, and old men or women past their labour, and that these appointments have been defended on the score of “charity to the poor creatures.” But what was it to the poor creatures placed under such incompetent charge? It was nothing

less than organized cruelty and moral murder; the schools, instead of being benefits, were nuisances that ought to be abated. It may be added, that to the effects produced by these schools, the prevalent errors respecting the inutility or even danger of popular education may fairly be attributed: in every case where the writer has examined the examples cited by the opponents of education as proofs of its inutility, and they have not been few, he has found that the schools which the delinquents attend were either defective or pernicious, and consequently that the blame should fairly be attached not to education but to miseducation, which unquestionably is worse than none.

Society having prepared men by education to fulfil the conditions which is has imposed on social existence, has completed the first requisite for its own conservation. In examining the operations of benevolence in this respect we have found that public, associated, and individual charity had each their allotted share in the work, and have intimated some of the evils which may arise from one interfering with the operations of the other, or usurping its functions. There is not an opportunity for distinguishing the proper operations of these kinds of benevolence in the varied forms of charity, but one example is sufficient to shew that they have each their separate departments, and that fixing their several spheres of operation would be a desirable addition to social science.

Benevolence having conducted the young through the stages of infancy and childhood, must not yet abandon the superintendence of its charge; a very important period remains—that between leaving school and fixing

in life; the period of youth with all its appetites, passions, and temptations. This is a subject which is only just beginning to attract public attention, and which, indeed, is rarely taken into account, save by those who have carefully watched the workings and results of education. Lord Ashley has excited a considerable share of interest in one part of the subject—juvenile labour; but the case requires that we should take also into consideration juvenile want of employment, juvenile vagrancy, and juvenile delinquency. The great difficulty in the exercise of conservative influence over this stage of life is, that in youth the feelings of individuality, personal independence and liberty, are the strongest, and that any interference is likely to be resented as an infringement of freedom. It is within the writer's knowledge, that many of the young persons employed in the factories so far from feeling grateful for the protection afforded them by the government, look upon it as an impertinence and almost a grievance. There is no impropriety in setting children to work, provided the nature and amount of the labour be proportioned to their powers; on the contrary, work is an essential portion of the education necessary to those whose sustenance must be derived from toil. On comparing towns where there is a demand for juvenile labour with those in which the demand is limited and irregular, the balance of morals and comfort is on the whole in favour of the former. Habits of vagrancy are the great source of vice and misery in the juvenile population of these kingdoms; and these habits are necessarily formed by young persons who have left school and are unable to obtain employment. Most of the boys who loiter about

the streets, occasionally running of errands, carrying light parcels, or selling tapes, matches, ballads, etc. insensibly adopt a system of petty thieving which generally conducts them to a career of open crime. Previous education does much to counteract this evil, but it is not sufficient; and associated benevolence could scarcely be more usefully employed than in devising some plan of juvenile occupation.

The want of cheap and innocent places of public recreation is daily making itself more felt. Generally the poor in our large towns have only two places where they can meet together—the church or chapel, and the tavern. Now in youth religion rarely exercises the same influence that it does in mature age, and the tavern at such a season of life has more attractions than the place of worship. The experience, however, of those who conduct the Lyceums in Manchester, proves that to the educated youth of the humble classes places where healthy and innocent recreations could be combined with instruction, are more attractive than the alehouse or the haunts of depravity and shame.

It would be very desirable, if means could be devised for accomplishing it, that young persons after leaving the day-schools should be induced to frequent Sunday-schools, and that the latter should be regarded as an auxiliary rather than a substitute. It is not generally known that this was the original design of their institution. St. Charles of Borromeo, by whom they were first established at Milan, felt that the amount of instruction received by the labouring classes in the elementary schools was not sufficient, and he therefore instituted a system of Sunday instruction, for the pur-

pose of teaching young men how to use the arts of reading and writing which they had previously acquired. The example was followed in Germany after the Reformation, and now Sunday-schools are almost universal throughout the Germanic States. Attendance on them is compulsory until the age of eighteen is attained; those above that age may continue to attend if they please, and, in point of fact, great numbers avail themselves of the opportunity, having learned to appreciate its advantages by long experience. In Wurtemberg there are classes formed of persons thirty years of age.*

In connexion with this subject we may venture to suggest the expediency of establishing some special religious service for young persons, in which the purport of the prayers might be explained; the lessons made the subject of instructive comment, and simple lectures substituted for sermons. Every one who remembers their youthful experience must know how difficult it is to prevent the mind from wandering during the church service. Persons of ingenious and reflective minds, who have been instructed in their religious duties, feel that this wandering is sinful, but they cannot help it; their compunctious visitings become less effective by repetition, until a gradual and growing carelessness about the services of religion is formed, which is often more than a counterbalance to the good habit which they form of regularly attending church.

Many persons object to secular instruction on Sun-

* The best account of the German Sunday-schools is contained in a dissertation by Mr. Beil, a Protestant minister, which gained the prize offered for the best Essay on the subject by the Catholic synod of Wurtemberg, in 1829.

day: though we deeply feel that all knowledge is religious, that every revelation of the world of matter or the world of mind, increases the emotions of wonder, love and praise, towards the Almighty Being who has so mightily called both into existence, and so marvelously accommodated them to each other, we feel that it is highly important to give all the secular instruction communicated on the Sunday, a direct religious end and aim. Paley's *Natural Theology* may be mentioned as a work in which a great extent of interesting and useful information is converted, with great logical skill, to impressing upon the mind the elementary truths of religion, the wisdom and goodness of God as displayed in the works of creation.* A well-instructed teacher using Paley as his text book could give an immense amount of pleasure and instruction to a class of youths in a Sunday-school, and there are few ways in which a teacher could be more usefully employed. Perhaps pardon will be extended for adding that the giving of such lectures would be a useful part of the training of young clergymen; there is an art in conveying popular instruction which like every other art requires to be studied, and is improved by practice.

There is, however, a very great danger to which many well-disposed persons are subject, when they combine religious with secular instruction; namely, dragging in the discussion of the mysteries of religion, where they do not arise naturally from the subject.

* In the admirable schools connected with the Mechanics' Institute of Liverpool, Paley's *Natural Theology* is used as a school-book; and I have been equally gratified and surprised to find boys of ten and twelve years of age able to comprehend the science of the illustrations, and appreciate the force of the argument.

There is a serious danger, that when religious phrases are rendered "familiar in the mouth as household words," religious subjects may become as little sacred in the mouth as household things. This danger has been forced upon our attention by witnessing the evil effects produced by some of the publications of that very worthy and well-meaning body, the Religious Tract Society. In a Popular History of Quadrupeds, issued under their superintendence, we find the awful subject of human redemption introduced to illustrate the history of monkeys,—the dangers to which the soul are exposed, brought to explain bear-baiting,—and the beautiful parable of the pearl of great price dragged into the account of the mode of hunting sables.* Such

* To prevent any suspicion of exaggeration, I shall extract one passage, and that not the most offensive in the book. "Amongst the beast of prey, the leopard and panther are most to be dreaded (by the monkey tribe): the monkey is their favourite food; creeping cat-like along the branches, they surprise it when asleep; or they lie in ambush among the leaves; or crouch at the river's brink, keeping up an incessant warfare, and affording a perpetual source of terror and caution. Thus it is with the Christian; he is encompassed with enemies more malignant than the leopard, for 'not only does Satan go about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour,' but he bears a foe within—his own evil nature, against which he must be watchful and vigilant, and to overcome which he needs the grace of God, which is promised to all who seek it in the right way. The world too is against him, endeavouring to ensnare him with its allurements; at every step he takes, he finds the ministers of sin and pleasure ready to pounce upon him; they lurk in the mart, in the counting-house, in the shop; they lurk in the splendid mansion and in the humble cottage. Ambition crouches behind the monument of the patriot; ostentation in the bowers of charity; avarice in the gardens of industry. How shall the Christian escape? Christ has opened the way. His grace is all sufficient. To return to our subject. We have already stated the race of monkeys to be extremely numerous as to species, etc." Comment on this wicked nonsense is superfluous.

a form of instruction is absolutely mischievous; ludicrous associations are connected with the doctrines pertaining to man's salvation, and their effect on the minds of the young is for ever destroyed, by their immediate suggestion of incongruous and ludicrous images. It is quite as likely that the young will remember the monkeys when they hear the doctrines mentioned, as that they will learn the doctrines from the history of monkeys.

Among the titles of the books used in the German Sunday-schools, we find *Illustrations of Divine Providence, Lessons of Morality, Examples of Virtue, etc.*; but not having examined the works, we cannot say whether they are adapted for general use in this country. There is, however, a class of works which it would be very desirable to have prepared, and that is applications of Christian morals to the actual life and business of the operatives. Such works indeed could only be written by those who are familiar with the details of the occupations of the working classes. The value, or rather the necessity, of such information, for the purpose of conveying efficient moral instruction, is admirably illustrated in that useful series of books, the *Guide to Trade*, recently published by Knight and Co.; they shew that the effects of moral and intellectual lessons are greatly increased when they are directed to the special circumstances of the case.

Evening schools for adults are become common since the advantages of education have begun to be appreciated. They may be rendered of great value, not only in teaching those whose early education has been neglected, but also in continuing and extending the

knowledge of those who have had the advantage of school. The Mechanics' Institutes do not quite meet the necessity of the case, for both in the cost and in the nature of the information they afford, they rather take too high a rank for the generality of the working people. The Lyceums in Manchester, and the Mechanic Schools recently established in Lyons, seem, however, to satisfy the requisite conditions.

The regimental schools established by the Russian government are admirable schools for adults, and are particularly valuable in a country where, according to the military laws, young soldiers are entitled to their discharge after a certain term of service. This is one of the most admirable results of the progress of civilization. Once the disbandment of soldiers was the greatest scourge to a country, for it turned loose on society a multitude of men trained to immorality, and unfitted for any useful or peaceful occupation; now, the discharged soldiers are instructed in the means of becoming valuable members of society, and the army has thus been changed into a training school for civil life.

Little apology can be necessary for dwelling at such length on education as a conservative principle of society, and shewing what enlightened benevolence has already done, and what yet remains for it to do. We have endeavoured to the utmost of our power, to avoid touching on any of the controversial topics that have been introduced into the discussion, for we are persuaded that parties in general have differed about the means rather than the ends. It may be a mistake, but still it is an agreeable error, to believe, as we do most heartily, that those who differed from us most widely

on the subject, were not one whit less anxious than ourselves to promote "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, good-will towards men."

Education is a truly conservative principle: it is not good that nations should linger behind their destiny, for when they do, they must inevitably lose all the advantages derived from nature and events. The moral and intellectual improvement of the country must keep pace with its physical advancement, or the latter may, we should rather say, inevitably will, sow the seeds of deterioration. New arts create new wants; and when they are not watched, from servants they become masters. The very circumstances that give strength and dignity to the national character, unless subjected to the wholesome restraints of principle and knowledge, may become the source of ruin if left to run their course of unregulated wildness. Well may we use the noble words of Milton:—"Lords and Commons of England! consider what a nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent; subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point, the highest that human capacity can soar to. What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies."

To those who think the education of the lower classes an evil, and that some do so is unfortunately beyond question, we may still plead that, whether abstractedly good or evil, it is inevitable. England cannot with safety stay behind France, Germany, and the United

States; she has too long headed the march of civilization to fall quietly into the rear. Her superior power was derived from her superior knowledge, and the structure cannot long stand if the foundations are undermined. Moreover there is a desire, an intense thirst for information, awakened in the country; and if men are not led to satisfy it at the fountains of living water, they will hew out cisterns for themselves, or drink of the polluted streams that flow from ignorance, presumption, and malevolence. The fact that immoral, seditious and blasphemous books are circulated amongst us, proves not the abuse of education but the want of it. Ten years ago the writer found several shops for the sale of obscene publications in Liverpool; in a recent visit, he searched for them and they were not; and he could not discover any such shop in the entire town.

Benevolence, having prepared men by education to fulfil the conditions of social existence, must continue to superintend them during the struggle. We have seen in a former chapter that one of the most prominent characteristics of barbarism, is a want of providence and foresight; it requires very little acquaintance with the world, to find that this fault in a greater or less degree is the besetting sin of humanity—there is consequently a danger, to which we have more than once referred, of a system of relief becoming a premium to profligacy and indolence, and the destruction of frugality and industry. Still there are cases in which relief must be extended, and these are not confined to sickness or to accident, but are found in the strong and healthy.

Nothing is more fatal to the prosperity of the

labouring classes than frequent and great vicissitudes in the price of the necessities of life, in wages, and in the amount of employment. It may appear paradoxical to add that such changes are not altogether innocuous when they appear to be wrought in the operatives' favour. In the transitory sunshine of sudden prosperity he adopts new habits, which greatly increase his comforts and his pleasures, but which render his privations more painful when the period of reverse variation arrives. Experience indeed has shewn, that in some instances it is very perilous for an uneducated man to acquire such a superiority in mechanical skill as to raise his wages above the general average; the examples brought under notice of the fatal result, greatly outnumber the instances of advantage.

Leaving aside the political discussion of the causes which produce uncertainty in the price of provisions and variations in the money-rate of wages, we may mention that benevolence can render great assistance in preparing the working classes to meet such vicissitudes, by inducing them during seasons of prosperity to lodge a portion of their earnings in Savings' Banks. The influence of these institutions in the conservation of society is much greater than is usually supposed: every depositor in one of these banks feels a deep interest, a personal stake in the peace of the country and stability of the government, and hence the agents in seditious movements are always anxious to prevent the operatives from making deposits, knowing that those who do so are not likely to become their dupes.

It is scarcely possible in the most rapid glance at the evils to which the working classes are exposed, and the

consequent remedial duties imposed upon public and private benevolence, to omit some notice of the misfortunes to which females are exposed, from their greater susceptible, and from the very limited number of employments by which they can obtain subsistence. It is indeed rather lamentable to find in the present day a tendency to restrict the number of female occupations, and to employ young men in various departments to which women are better suited. When we remember how very small the remuneration awarded to female trades is, and how very few the trades are in which even such a pittance can be obtained, it is impossible to avoid lamenting that their sphere should be still further restricted by fashion or caprice.

It is a common error, derived indeed from statistical returns, that there is less of female than of male misery in the world. The reports of hospitals certainly exhibit a greater number of female than male patients, but the reason is that the hospital separates patients from the family, and that females are bound more strictly by the ties of family than males.

The widow, and the wife abandoned by her husband during the course or perhaps at the close of her career, are compelled at once to change their entire system and course of life: they were accustomed to family existence, they had exercised their faculties in the family sphere, they had enjoyed a support and stay which delivered them from the necessity of providing for their subsistence—they are overwhelped by the sudden feelings of solitude and desertion, at the moment when they are called upon to exercise every faculty in order to render the resources they possess available, and to

open new and untried means of subsistence. This revolution generally surprises them at a time when the approaches of decay and feebleness begin to be felt. The widow may indeed derive some courage from her recollections, and find confidants to share her troubles; but the deserted, often robbed by the perfidy of him who should have supported her, has little to console the bitterness of her reflections, and blushes at a position to which she has been reduced by the criminality of another.

The institutions of society cannot prevent this misery, but they may greatly diminish the number of cases. Much may be effected by increasing the comforts of domestic life, and affording facilities for the indulgence of domestic affection. Not only will the strength of the marriage band be thus increased, but a moral feeling will be generated, which could not be braved with impunity. The depraved husband will dread to abandon his wife and family, when he knows that such a course will render him an outcast from society, and that the finger of scorn will be pointed at him whenever he appears in the streets.

The mischievous proposals of the Socialists respecting the abolition of marriage need hardly be exposed, for they are so repulsive to general feeling that none but the most fanatical of the sect venture to give them utterance. But the fact that such proposals have been made, and that in some of the manufacturing districts they have been heard with attention and partial favour, is a proof that domestic life in these places is not established on such a sound and healthy basis as to render all its advantages immediately perceptible. There is

no greater error than to suppose that a disease is not real when an absurd remedy is demanded. A child in the restlessness of fever will ask for things which would only aggravate its illness, but instead of laughing at its folly we endeavour to cure the disease. The insensate proposals of the multitude, often more wild and more vehement than the demands of the child, are nevertheless symptoms of suffering which is felt without being understood. Physicians inform us that in many cases the seat of pain is not the same as the seat of disease, as for instance in liver attacks, the most acute suffering is frequently in the shoulder; this aphorism may very often be extended to moral evil; in both cases the quack treats the symptoms, but the regular physician seeks for the diseased part of the constitution. We have more than once referred to the condition of the working classes in large towns, and noticed some of the circumstances which prevent the healthy development of the domestic affections, and we think it natural to conclude that the suppression of these feelings, the check imposed upon their growth and the constraint upon their exercise, have tended to weaken the advantages, the importance, and the value of the domestic union. Its value indeed must from some cause or other have been seriously diminished, when a proposal for abolishing it as worthless has been heard not only with attention but in a few instances with some degree of favour.

It would be very desirable if the labouring classes could be induced to make some provision for the contingencies of widowhood by a modified system of insurance, private benevolence would be well employed in

organizing such an institution and contributing to its funds. Benefit societies, or associations for mutual assistance in cases of accident, sickness, maternity, illness or death of children, etc. do not quite meet the exigences of the case, for the expenses of management are generally out of proportion to the amount of funds, and the time required for general superintendence is rather more than operatives can conveniently spare. It is greatly to be wished that the wealthy would contribute to the support of such institutions by subscriptions and donations, but that they should interfere no further in the management than they are solicited to do by the operatives themselves. There is unfortunately a jealousy, a suspicion of some sinister purpose, excited when the higher ranks too authoritatively direct the poor in the mode of employing their own money; and those who labour to benefit them by training them to habits of providence will need much patience, much forbearance, and great firmness of purpose. But benevolence thus exercised will have great conservative influence; it will tend greatly to produce and perpetuate those feelings of mutual kindness and mutual interest which are the bonds that hold together the several classes of society, and prevent those classes from arraying themselves against each other as hostile parties. It cannot be too often repeated, that bestowing money is the very lightest duty of benevolence; labour, time and sympathy are also required, and are far more valuable. When St. Peter said to the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have, give I thee," he bestowed upon him a boon more precious than any the lords of Judea could have

granted; and though we cannot give such miraculous aid as the Apostles afforded, yet each of us, however limited our means, may communicate more real good by the exercise of prudence and brotherly kindness, than by "giving all our goods to feed the poor."

It is but justice to confess, that many of the preceding suggestions have been derived from observations on the practical operations of the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society; in which the principle of enabling the poor to help themselves is worked out with singular wisdom and success. In referring to an institution, the existence and nature of which only became known to the writer during a casual visit to Manchester, and then accidentally, it may be permitted to remark that some central institution, where the nature and operations of local charities, and the practical improvements suggested in the course of their operations might be recorded, would be of immense value in England. In the United States, the charities in several of the towns, particularly in Boston, have associated together for the mutual communication of information through their delegates, and great advantages have been derived from the system, both in the detection of unworthy claimants, and in the administration of relief in the precise form that rendered it most effective.

Regarding, as we do, misery as the greatest peril to which society is exposed, we have endeavoured to shew how relief may be administered with the most conservative effect. But there is one class, generally neglected, which yet deserves a large share of sympathy, and the mode of treating which cannot be reduced to any general rule. We allude to what Bentham calls the class

of Imperfect Labourers, which is perhaps the largest of all. In the first glance at society, this class very often escapes notice; there is nothing salient or prominent in their condition. A superficial observer would confound them with the lazy and the indolent, and would thereby commit great injustice. The languidness with which they work, the slowness, confusion and embarrassment of their movements, and the want of those comforts possessed by operatives in the same class of life, naturally lead the observer to believe that the sufferers have themselves to blame. But on a little inquiry we find that their responsibility, in a great majority of instances, disappears, and that their apparent listlessness is the result of imperfect intelligence, ignorance, or misdirected energies. By imperfect intelligence we do not mean idiocy; but there are many stages between a perfectly sound mind, and complete imbecility, which though they have not been classified by science, are easily detected by observation. In ordinary life we meet many destitute of reflection, of foresight, of the habits of calculation and combination, who seem to have no idea of order, and to want judgment sufficient to guide their conduct. Access to the most lucrative trades and professions is forbidden to this unfortunate class, and in the occupations to which they obtain admittance they find their situation very unfavourable. They not only receive less wages, but they are the first discharged whenever the market is dull, and the last employed when times begin to mend. They are miserable, and they know not why; they are consequently easily made the dupes of any charlatan who professes to remedy all the evils of humanity by his new views of

politics or society. So far as the inquiries of a private uninfluential individual has gone, it appears pretty certain that the class of labourers, commonly called "botches," supplies the greatest number of recruits to the apostles of sedition.

The progress of machinery has been very advantageous to the imperfect labourers, for it has rendered the exercise of dexterity and judgment less important than that of manual faculties, which they acquire by a kind of mechanical imitation. Some of them appear to have a glimmering consciousness of this truth, and their ignorant hostility to machinery has consequently abated. But a perfect remedy for their misery cannot easily be devised, and they must in general be left to the care of private benevolence.

Ignorance arising from a defective or neglected education can often be distinguished from the class just described, but in the majority of instances it is not easy to discover the difference. There is an education of the eye, and of the hand, to which attention is rarely paid in places of public instruction, but which is of the highest value to the operative. So long as the working classes are excluded from exhibitions of the beauties of nature and art, they must necessarily be deficient in correctness of taste, in play of fancy, and in the *coup d'œil*, which enables the operatives of the Continent to surpass us in fancy patterns. It would lead us too far from our immediate subject to enter further on this discussion, but we may refer to the accounts of the various exhibitions at Mechanics' Institutes, to prove how valuable the access to works of art is in giving that education of the eye which has hitherto been the greatest want of the English operative.

The conservative influence of society must be exercised in remedying not only physical, but moral evils. Crime must be prevented, and the means of prevention are the only proper objects of penal legislation. It was long a prevalent error, and it is still a very common mistake, to suppose that society inflicted punishment on a criminal in vengeance for the wrong he inflicted upon it, and thus the necessity of inflicting a certain amount of suffering was closely associated with the administration of justice. This mischievous union between ideas which have no necessary connexion, rendered the criminal codes of most countries sanguinary and cruel; it led people to direct their indignation against the criminal instead of the crime, and there were those who estimated the value and efficiency of administrative justice by the amount of misery it inflicted on the few, instead of by the amount of protection it afforded to the many. There were even eminent publicists who looked upon criminal law as nothing better than a substitute for private vengeance, and therefore felt disposed to measure the pain it should inflict by the amount which the injured might deem it reasonable to demand. No one ever in set terms declared that administrative justice ought to be nothing more than legalized revenge; but many have clamoured for increased severity, have complained that there is not enough of hanging, of transporting, and of flogging, because those who have been guilty of certain crimes deserved no mercy. Even Dr. Johnson defines punishment to be "any infliction or pain imposed in vengeance of a crime." It is however far from clear that there is any connexion necessary between the notions

of justice and retribution ; it would seem that such an association should be confined to the retaliatory laws of barbarism, and that in civilized life, law should not be regarded as the agent of revenge, but as a conservative element of society, limited and guided in its operations by what is essentially necessary to the fulfilment of its conservative functions. Thus viewed, we find that the law ought not to inflict any pain, unless when such infliction is indispensably necessary for the suppression of crime ; and that the amount of suffering to be inflicted must be measured by the efficacy of the punishment in deterring the offender from repeating his crime, and of the example in deterring others. Vengeance, retribution, and retaliation, form no part of the duties of society, for one great object of society is to prevent the development of such passions. Mercy must be regarded not as the opposite of justice, but as a means by which the ends of justice may often be most efficiently attained ; and the only ends or purposes of justice that we can recognise, are the conservation and protection of society.

Were vengeance alone taken into account, the ends of justice would be sufficiently attained by getting rid of the criminal ; such is the expedient adopted in all lands and ages of barbarism. But when the efficacy of punishment in restraining crime is taken into account, the wholesale butchery of executions begins to appear of very questionable policy, and a question arises whether crime has not been increased by the means adopted for its repression. Some persons have raised a doubt as to the right of society to take away life in any instance ; but the doubt would scarcely have been raised, had not

the mind been previously mystified by the notions of revenge and retribution : thus viewed, it is sufficiently absurd that the remedy which society provides for the loss of one of its members, is forthwith to get rid of another ; but discarding this antiquated error, there can be no difficulty in confessing that society has a right to secure its own conservation by taking a life when no other means would be adequate to the purpose.

Take murder as an example: it is not sufficient justification for executing a murderer, to say that he has taken the life of another man ; it must further be shewn either that there is a strong probability of the criminal's persevering in a criminal career if allowed to escape with life, or that the fact of his escape would encourage others to follow his example. It must also be borne in mind, that the execution of the criminal may have consequences extending beyond himself, and involving the innocent in his sufferings ; his wife becomes a widow, his children orphans, the finger of scorn is pointed at the members of his family. Here is a vast amount of misery, which society inflicts in order to prevent misery, and here are manifest grounds for demanding that a clear case of necessity should be made out to justify the infliction.

Does the dread of death prevent the commission of murder ? There is at least a doubt of its efficacy. In cases where the murder has arisen from party-spirit, as in the agrarian disputes between landlord and tenant in Ireland, and the fierce excitement produced by trades' unions, murders on one side and executions on the other are regarded as the legitimate modes of warfare, and not unfrequently the execution of the criminal is

regarded as a martyrdom, and his funeral resembles the triumph of a canonization. On the other hand, the opposite party views the execution as a victory over an enemy; exulting looks are seen, and sometimes words of triumph are heard, when the victim appears on the scaffold: a double demoralization is thus effected; those who indulge such feelings brutalize themselves, while they inflict wounds on their opponents which rankle and fester into the worst malignity of revenge. The escape of Frost and his associates was in this view fortunate; for their execution might have led to an exhibition of exultation on one side, which would have produced deep and deadly feelings of animosity on the other. Fatal instances of such a result might easily be quoted, but they would open wounds which are not yet healed, and might perhaps lead to political controversies, of which there are already more than enough in the world.

It is very doubtful whether the exhibition of a public execution, under any circumstances, produces the moral effect which would alone render it justifiable. Those who have been present on such occasions are well aware that the conduct of the crowd assembled round the scaffold displays little of the reverential awe with which the departure of a fellow-creature from this world should be contemplated.* Heartless jokes, obscene jests, wanton merriment, crime labouring in its vocation, are mingled in the view with disgust and horror; so that one is almost tempted to adopt the expression

* The reader is referred to an admirable paper on the execution of Coirvoisier, published in *Fraser's Magazine* for August; it is the production of a philosopher, a gentleman, and a Christian, and makes one anxious to discover the name of the author.

of a German nobleman after witnessing an execution at the Old Bailey, "the criminal ought not to be pitied for quitting a world composed of such miscreants as have witnessed his departure from it."

It is not meant to assert that Capital Punishments ought in all cases to be abolished; our purpose is merely to shew that the question of their expediency is fairly open to consideration, and that in this, as in every other matter of doubtful policy, society is bound to investigate the conservative influence of its institutions. If the infliction of death as a punishment be not the best mode in which penal legislation can effect the conservation of society, it must be mischievous and pernicious; for it prevents the best mode from being sought and adopted. This reasoning has nothing to do with sympathy for the criminal; his fate may or may not deserve pity, and perhaps, in some cases, the affectation of sentimental tenderness towards an atrocious criminal may have so disgusted men of sense, as to lead them at once into the approbation of capital punishments. But we view the question solely in its relation to society: the simple point of dispute is, whether the system is or is not beneficial; and it would require some little hardihood to make a very positive answer in the affirmative.

The whimsical error in penal legislation, that the best thing society could do was to rid itself of the criminal, was manifested in the system of secondary punishments, adopted when the advancement of civilization imposed a check on the periodical carnage of executions. Transportation was adopted: the guilty person was removed from the society which he had outraged, and this being effected, judges and legisla-

tors folded their arms, satisfied that they had performed their duty, and consequently that there was an end of the matter. But in this mode of proceeding it was forgotten that the entire aim and purpose of society in inflicting punishment were completely defeated. The influence of example could not be preserved when the victim was removed to another hemisphere. In a new colony, where labour was difficult to be procured, a clever convict, whatever had originally been his offence, was sure to obtain a relaxation of discipline, and perhaps some degree of favour. Many that went out poor, became rich, and sent home such flattering accounts of their circumstances, that their situation was envied by their former companions. Transportation began to be viewed as a reward rather than a punishment, and thus the legislature had actually offered a premium for crime.

“My attention,” said the Archbishop of Dublin when introducing this subject to the notice of the House of Lords, “was forcibly called to this subject a good many years ago, from my observation of the effects of the transportation-system in my own neighbourhood in Suffolk. I perceived the every way demoralizing tendencies of the system; which were more and more forced upon my notice in proportion as I extended my inquiries. I found the relatives and former neighbours of transported convicts receiving such favourable accounts of the situation of those convicts—sometimes true, and sometimes false, but always alluring—that the punishment (so called) of transportation had the effect of a bounty on crime, and the condition of the convict with light work, and not only plentiful but

luxurious maintenance, could not but be regarded with envy by the poor labourer, who, with hard work and scanty food, was struggling, and often struggling in vain, to keep himself and his family from the parish."

So far is this statement from being highly coloured, that it errs on the opposite side; poor persons in various parts of England, when brought to trial for crime, declared that they committed the offence in order to obtain the boon of transportation. Criminals, when sentence was passed upon them, returned thanks to the judges for having awarded them a great kindness, and when a convict-ship was about to sail, the passengers displayed more joyous excitement than if they were going on a trip of pleasure.

The punishment usually inflicted on the convicts was assigning them as servants to landowners. The Archbishop of Dublin has described the result in a few emphatic sentences. "Taken as a system of *slavery* alone, though that is but one portion of the vast and complicated mass of evils belonging to the system—as a system of slavery, it is in many points worse than negro-slavery. The master of negro-slaves, most of whom probably have been brought up in his family from childhood, and none of whom are necessarily tainted with crime, has every moral inducement, if he is at all capable of good feelings, to treat them well; and at any rate, from having a *permanent* property in them, has at least the same pecuniary interest in their well-being as in that of his cattle. The master of convict-slaves, on the contrary, has no permanent interest in them: his sympathy with them, and indulgence of them, will be found greatest (as has been proved in evidence) when

he, himself being a profligate character, makes them companions in debauchery or associates in crime; and the more license and indulgence is usually shewn to the more desperate ruffian, where revengeful passions might be formidable. Then indeed, and when the master happens to be of a timid disposition, and his servants daring and hardened characters, it appears that (in remote situations especially) the relation between the master and servants—the jailer and prisoners—is often very nearly reversed. In short, though it must be admitted that a community consisting of *masters and slaves* is bad, and that a nation of *jailers and prisoners*,—of criminals I may say, and executioners,—is bad, the union of the two in one system,—the system of punishing criminals by assigning them as slaves, to labour for the benefit of private individuals—is incomparably the worst of all. Yet this, which is but one out of the many evils of the Transportation-system,—the one which it has been at length resolved to put an end to,—continued to be carried on, in spite of all remonstrance,—in spite of the fullest exposure of its noxious effects,—for more than fifty years before the truth was acknowledged and acted on !”*

* In many other subjects besides this, it is curious to observe how slowly and reluctantly men are induced to admit practically, and to act upon, conclusions of which their understanding has been convinced, when *habit* and prejudice are opposed to them. It is a long process first to effect such a conviction; and when this is accomplished, the task is but half-completed; their *habits* of thought and of action continue, by a kind of *vis inertiae*, to move in the same course, till time and frequent repetition shall have rendered *familiar* to their minds the conclusions which reason has established. The words which Shakspeare, in mere sportiveness puts into the mouth of Dogberry, seem in some such cases to be literally applicable, It hath been *proved already*

The effect of aggregating all the criminality of England in one limited spot, on the morals of the community thus formed, exceeds all powers of description. Lord Bacon had in the strongest terms expressed his own conviction of the impolicy as well as the immorality of such colonization. "It is," said that great man, "a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues and not fall to work, but be lazy and do mischief and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation."* To colonists of such description, Lord Bacon has indeed bequeathed in vain the exhortation which follows:—"Let men make that profit of being in the wilderness that they have God always and his service before their eyes!"

Experience has fully proved that convict colonization is "a shameful and unblessed thing." A society has been formed, in which "not to be corrupted is the shame;" and improvement cannot be expected until the flow of the polluted streams into this receptacle for the moral filth of England is stopped at once and for ever.

Transportation is justly condemned as a system of punishment, because, without effecting the conservation of society in England, it has a destroying influence on society in Australia; it has not done the good, and it has done more than the evil anticipated. Fortunately for humanity, the perverse notion of the application of

that you are no better than stark knaves; and it will go near to be thought so shortly.—*Note by Archbishop Whately.*

* *Essay on Plantations.*

the law as an instrument of vengeance has not been introduced into the question of transportation; it has been fairly tried on its merits, as a principle conservative of society, and this simplification of the issue has enabled the public to pronounce its sentence with promptitude and certainty.

It is surprising to find how very slowly the possibility of reforming the criminal came to be taken into account in penal legislation, and how much it is yet opposed by prejudices arising from the absurd and vulgar notion of vengeance. There are doubtless limits to the application of the principle in penal legislation; but, as well as mischievous severity, may arise from fixing attention on the criminal rather than the crime, and the only security against either error is to keep steadily in view that the only object of punishment, the only justification for the infliction of pain, is the conservation of society.

Before entering on the consideration of imprisonment as a punishment, it may be necessary to observe, that a system of preventive legislation may do much to avert crime. Unnecessary exposure of valuable property in the way of those who are most likely to yield to temptation, should be regarded as an offence against society; it is a direct temptation to theft, and those who behave so imprudently are accessories before the fact. Education may be considered as one of the most efficient measures of preventive police, and its efficacy in checking juvenile delinquency has been abundantly proved in the manufacturing districts; but a system of juvenile employment, which would not too severely tax the health and strength of the young, would be a very

desirable improvement in society—for all the inquiries we have made concur in exhibiting juvenile vagrancy as the principal cause of juvenile delinquency. Mr. W. B. Neale, in an admirable pamphlet on juvenile delinquency, thus describes the consequences of early vagrancy:—

“The existence of juvenile vagrancy is in the highest degree pernicious to society, for while it tends directly to vice, by blunting the moral sense, especially of the female, and exposes it to all the contaminating influences of wandering idly up and down the surface of a great city, it at the same time lays the foundation in the mind of all those propensities to idleness and dependence upon charitable relief, and to maintain existence by any other means than that of honest industry; than which a frame of mind more fraught with pernicious consequences, both to those who are under its influence and to society, cannot readily be conceived: it is a habit which bears its bitter fruit, and accompanies them through life. Juvenile vagrancy is, in fine, the first step in juvenile delinquency, and is the high road to felony, pauperism, and prostitution.

“Sent forth at an early age as beggars, and venders of matches, tape, sand, etc., they are early instructed to add theft to vagrancy; and instinctively conscious that all is not right with them, they even at this early period of life shun the constable as the enemy of their race: and those who are best acquainted with this class can testify to the precocity of their minds, the ingenuity of their devices, and the cunningness of their shifts and evasions, when questioned by the agents of the police.

“The aptness of the infant mind to receive the seeds

of evil as well as good impressions, is well known; and in the class of whom we are speaking, this ingenuity of mind is called forth and quickened by chastisements and privations.

“The child is sent out by its indigent parent, its hostile step-mother, or still more interested and unfeeling guardian, with strict injunctions not to return home without having obtained a certain sum of money, or quantity of provisions.

“If it has been obtained, well and good, and he returns home to receive the commendation of his parent and to share in what he has himself been instrumental in obtaining; but, on the other hand, should he fail, through negligence, to procure the requisite supply, he dares not venture home,—or if he does, nothing but chastisement awaits him, and he is driven forth and denied shelter and food.

“Unhappily, this system is too often put in practice; and so much so, that even where it does not exist, it is a ready tale with young vagrants who, when soliciting relief, seek to excite sympathy for their case, by declaring that they dare not venture home unprovided.”

The child is thus not merely tempted but coerced to supply by peculation and petty thefts the amount he is required to bring home, and the dishonest habits thus acquired grow with his growth and strengthen with his strength, until he is educated and trained up a hardened criminal. In some parts of the the United States, the evils of juvenile vagrancy have been so severely felt, that the public are empowered to take up all young persons wandering about the streets, who cannot give an account of themselves. It would probably be im-

prudent to introduce such a system in England while so many ignorant prejudices have been excited against the police force;—though England has long been the land of freedom, the true nature of liberty is not universally understood in the country; it is not felt that order is one of its most essential elements.

But in spite of all efforts for prevention, crime must be expected to come, and some system of punishment for its repression is necessary. Imprisonment is the usual punishment inflicted on juvenile offenders, but the mode in which it is generally applied is equally inefficient and pernicious. We extract the following account from Mr. Neale's pamphlet; we can vouch for the accuracy of his descriptions from our own personal investigations:—

“It is not to be supposed that the delinquent can have continued for any great length of time committing a variety of depredations, without incurring suspicion, or having been taken in some criminal act. Suspicion, therefore, we will suppose has attached to him, and he is taken in some overt breach of the law, and conducted before the magistrate. If the case is not pressed against him, or the evidence is not satisfactory, he is of course acquitted; but what is the result in the event of his being convicted? It is his first offence, and in consideration of this circumstance and that of his tender years, he is given over to his parents, that is, *to those very persons who had not either the inclination or the power to restrain him within the bounds of the law.*

“If he has not been taught to rely on this pardon, he has at least escaped with impunity; and again exposed to the evil influences which originally led him

into crime, and relying once more upon the lenity of the magistrate, he shortly has again recourse to his evil habits, and is again detected and brought to the bar of justice.

“This is the second offence, and parental restraint having failed, he cannot of course be consigned to parental discipline, but is committed to prison for the short period of ten or fourteen days. Hardly then has he been confined when the period of his liberation has arrived, and while any salutary impression which a temporary restraint may have had upon his mind becomes daily more faint, he has learnt an important lesson of a contrary tendency; he too has been in the much dreaded prison, and assuming as it did in his instance so mild a form, he has learnt to despise the majesty of the laws, and to wonder that the magistrate or the prison should ever have appeared to him as a terror or a bugbear. Under the influence of these sentiments, and the salutary restraint of fear being removed, timidity has given place to courage, and he is found engaged in some more aggravated contravention of the laws.

“He must now be regarded as incorrigible, neither parental restraint nor a brief imprisonment have had any influence upon him; his sentence therefore is, that *he be imprisoned for three months, and twice whipped.* This period of restraint, likewise, too rapidly elapses to produce any salutary moral effect, and the ‘corporal pangs,’ however smarting and acute, at best but excite a LEGAL repentance, and too often raise in the mind of the sufferer a secret vengeance against that society which has inflicted it.”

Imprisonment is designed to answer two purposes—intimidation by punishment, and moral improvement by subjecting the offender to a compulsory course of restraint and virtuous training. In the latter respect prisons are benevolent institutions, or at least are capable of being made such, and therefore the magistrate who discharges a juvenile culprit performs an act of cruelty and not of mercy. The principle of forgiving first offences is bad and mischievous; it encourages the delinquent to take the first step in crime, and in this as in many other things, “*ce n’est que le premier pas qui coute.*” Imprisonment for short periods does not afford time for the course of moral discipline to have its due effect, while the very effort to establish a moral influence over the mind of the criminal leads to a relaxation of the penal sufferings. Thus the system acts neither as an intimidation nor a reformation, and consequently must tend to increase crime.

Whipping is a barbarous custom, and in many ways tends to defeat the moral purposes of punishment. It degrades the victim in his own estimation; and when self-respect is destroyed there can be little hope of amendment. Even as an intimidation to others its effect is weakened, if not destroyed, by the pride which criminals display in evincing heroism under the smart of the lash. The penitentiary system for juvenile offenders appears, however, to afford a reasonable prospect of repressing crime. We shall, therefore, extract a description of the institution for the reformation of juvenile offenders at Rotterdam, from Mr. Victor Cousin’s admirable Report on the State of Education in Holland.

"I saw (he says) at Rotterdam, a charitable institution so singular in its nature, and where primary instruction forms so important a part, that I must say a few words respecting it—I mean the Penitentiary for Young Boys. I shall give a sufficiently correct notion of the excellent system upon which the prisons in Holland are managed by saying that the central prisons are divided into two classes: the one for young persons below eighteen or twenty years of age, and the other for older persons. The Central Penitentiary for young persons, established at Rotterdam, used to receive young prisoners of both sexes: they were rigidly separated from each other in the court-yards, and in the rooms where they got their meals, and there were distinct schools for each sex. In spite of these precautions, however, experience demonstrated the necessity of separating them entirely, and having one penitentiary for boys and another for girls. The girls are at Amsterdam, the boys at Rotterdam; I examined the last with minute attention.

"The object which they have in view in these places is, not only to make the young people submissive and correct in their conduct during the time of their imprisonment, but to improve them. The imprisonment itself and the severity of the discipline constitute the just punishment of the offence; for it is indispensable that there should be punishment: but the chastisement would not be adapted to its proper end if it did not tend to improve the criminal, and every possible care is taken that the prison should deserve the title of a penitentiary.

"They work upon the young offenders, first, by the discipline to which they are subjected, in order to give

them notions of order and submission to authority; and secondly, by the labour they have to go through, for which purpose there are workshops of various kinds. The system of the house is military: all the officers are dressed in uniform, and maintain a grave and decent deportment, which, of itself, is an excellent lesson. The diet is wholesome, but coarse; and so it ought to be. There is not a separate cell for each prisoner, but the dormitories have only a small number of beds, which are hammocks, and every thing was clean, and neat, and conveniently arranged. I should have seen things better if I had been accompanied by my brother academician, Mr. Berenger, who would have assisted me greatly in interrogating my guides. At all events, I am a competent judge of the school which is in the house, and it is that which is the great instrument of amelioration. This school consists of about sixty young prisoners, all dressed alike, in coarse but clean linen jackets and trousers. I was very much struck with the progress which their copybooks shewed that they had made, in a very short time; and I was particularly pleased with the singing. We must, however, recollect that it was not in intelligence that these youths were wanting. The master is a young man, with a grave and mild deportment, who seems like the father of his pupils. It had been proposed to give him one of the gaolers as his assistant, to keep order; this he declined, assigning as his reason, that it would look as if he was afraid; and so he manages the whole school himself. He devotes his whole life to this sacred duty; he knows every one of his pupils individually, and endeavours to gain their confidence. He does not lose sight of them,

even after they have left the house, but continues to look after them ; they get situations upon his recommendation, and he keeps a regular correspondence with every one of them. But such a system would be impossible if the pupils were not limited to a small number : were not this the case, all that one man could do would be to instruct them as well as he could, so long as they remained under his immediate care ; and it would be impossible for him to look after them in their future career. If in such an establishment the number of prisoners be considerable, they ought to be carefully separated, and committed in divisions of fifty or sixty at most to the care of one master, who should be specially charged with the duty of instructing them, and not only responsible for their education during the time they continue, but to watch over them afterwards.

“I was surprised to learn that this Central Prison for boys, the only one in all Holland, did not contain more than from sixty to eighty prisoners ; so that, adding seventy who were expected from the depôt at Leyden, there were at most only 150 out of a population of 2,500,000. To find a solution of this phenomenon, I had only to reflect upon the excellent schools I had everywhere met with. The charges upon the towns for the support of schools produce this result—that there are fewer crimes, and consequently less to pay for police, and for the prevention and punishment of crime. In Rotterdam, a commercial town of nearly 100,000 inhabitants—filled with merchandise, and where the number of canals and bridges affords great facilities to depredators—robberies are rare, and burglaries accompanied by acts of violence so much so, that a gentleman

who accompanied us assured me that it would be difficult for them to mention any."

Penitentiary imprisonment is, in fact, a system of education which society is bound to afford for the interests of its own conservation. Mr. Bentham has well observed that, "in regarding education as an indirect mode of preventing offences, it requires an essential reform. The most neglected class must become the principal objects of care. The less the parents are able to discharge this duty, the more necessary is it for the government to fulfil it. It ought not only to watch over orphans left in indigence, but also over the children whose parents no longer deserve the confidence of the law with regard to this important charge; over those who have already committed crimes, or who, destitute of protectors and resources, are given up to all the seduction of misery. These classes, absolutely neglected in most countries, become the hot-beds of crime." *

In applying this principle, we must, however, expect to be met, in many instances, by a fierce opposition, and an indignant clamour against interference with liberty and parental right. There never was any measure devised by public authority for the benefit of the poor which a system of audacious misrepresentation did not induce the poor to view in the first instance with suspicion and dislike. But perseverance under calumny as it is the most onerous, so it is also the most stringent duty of philanthropy; and it is to be hoped that the unfortunate parents and children who would most immediately feel the pressure of the penitentiary system,

* Principles of Penal Law, chap. xx. sect. 4.

would soon perceive its benefits, and that this experience would change their hate into gratitude.

The world must make a considerable advance before prisons will be generally regarded as institutions of benevolence—hospitals for the cure of the moral diseases which afflict humanity; but until they are so regarded, they will not quite succeed in effecting their proper aim and object, the conservation of society. At present, too many rest satisfied if pain is inflicted on the criminal; as if the infliction of pain were not always an evil, which can only be justified by its prevention of a greater evil. There are, however, gratifying proofs, that the true theory of imprisonment and legal punishment is making a great advance amongst us; there is consequently no necessity to apologize for dwelling at such length on this conservative principle of society, for its importance is obvious, and its interest is daily increasing.

The greatest conservative principle of society, and that which it behoves enlightened benevolence most zealously to extend, is religion. "If," says Dr. Dewy, "I looked upon the frame of society only with the eye of an artist; if I cared not what became of human government, or the human character, or anything else human, I should still be compelled to see and admit that there is no basis for human welfare, individual, social, or national, none conceivable or possible, none provided by the great Framer of the world, but intelligence and virtue." But in order that religion should gain the mastery and hold the dominion, justly its due in social organization, it must be brought into close contact with human nature, it must have free access to

individual minds and hearts. In order that this great principle should work its way, it must be divested of all exclusiveness. Every page of its history shews that it is exposed to great danger from this source of corruption. "Men have worshipped God, and at the same time hated, persecuted, cast out, crushed and destroyed their fellow-men. It was against this error that an Apostle set himself, when he said, 'he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how doth he love God whom he hath not seen?'"

In viewing religion as a conservative principle of society, as a social, rather than an individual blessing, there is some danger of being misunderstood. It may be supposed, viewing it in only one of its relations, as the nature of this work compels us to do, that we are either ignorant of its importance in other relations, or that undue preponderance is given to that more immediately under consideration. It is by no means easy to guard against such misconception or misrepresentation; for although the social importance of religion is universally acknowledged, it is rarely viewed exclusively in its social relations, and perhaps many may deem it improper to discard all reference to the connexion between religion and the eternal salvation of the soul. Still, as this latter relation belongs to the individual mind, it can only be introduced into the consideration of the conservative principles of society, where this becomes a security for personal probity and purity of conduct in this life.

Religion, instead of being exclusive should be liberal, generous, and gracious; in order to be efficient and practical, it should extend its influence beyond the

error respecting the things. It has led many to suppose that it would be an impertinent interference to give religious instruction to those who do not belong to our own congregation, and the same error has led multitudes to reject such instruction when offered. A professed purpose of proselytism defeats its own ends by the hostility which it excites, and a concealed purpose of proselytism is as base and as dishonourable as any other form of hypocrisy. There is but one legitimate way of enlarging the religious community to which we belong, it is by manifesting the superior purity of our doctrines by our lives and conduct; let us be honest and upright, temperate and forbearing, kind-hearted and true; pure religion doth not "strive nor cry, neither shall any man hear its voice in the streets"—"it loveth not in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth." This is the religion wanting for the improvement of society—a religion of kindness and gentleness, and generosity and candour, and modesty and forbearance, and integrity and self-respect and mutual respect.

That these sentiments will be displeasing to many worthy persons is unfortunately probable; but as they are honestly held, they may be candidly told, without giving an offence to any save those who confide in the infallibility of their own opinions. "The snail," says the Hindoo proverb, "sees nothing beyond its shell, and believes it the finest palace in the universe:" there are some whose vision is not less limited by the self-sufficiency of their own minds, and from them toleration of a difference of opinion is as little to be expected as it is to be desired.

The importance of keeping the religion of society, or rather the application of religion to the purposes of society, free from every principle of exclusion, can be fully appreciated only by those who have learned by practical inquiries to estimate the number of those to whom religion, save in name, is utterly unknown. In our large towns, from one-fourth to one-third of the population are under no pastoral care, and in the way of no direct religious influence. The causes of their absence from places of worship, and of their being unconnected with churches or religious societies, are many and various. Some want suitable attire; others have removed from one quarter of the town to another, and after having been thus severed from their old religious connexions, are too careless or too indolent to form new associations; the charge of young children detains others; and many are kept away by the pride which deters them from being seen in free-sittings. The author once spoke to an operative who was habitually absent from church, but who was honest, respectable and intelligent, on the impropriety of his continued absence from public worship. He replied, "I cannot afford the rent of a pew, and were I seen in the free sittings, my employers would think me so helpless as to be at their mercy, and would reduce my wages." Some are absent from insensibility and indifference to the claims of religion, others from recklessness, vice or profligacy; finally, some are detained by sickness or old age. The necessity of doing something for the thousands thus left destitute of Christian teaching and Christian consolation, has been strangely forgotten in the schemes of philanthropy.

The Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, of Boston, was the first who proposed a plan to remedy this evil, by appointing a minister at large, who, without any distinction of sect, should visit the poor in their dwellings, and convey to them the consolations of religion. Those who were chosen to fulfil this arduous duty, were selected from various Christian denominations, for the object involved nothing sectarian. It was soon found that direct religious instruction formed but a part, though doubtless the most important part, of the duties which devolved on a "minister at large." He had to encounter misery in all its most harassing and agonizing forms; he had to see humanity retaining nothing but its form, under circumstances where he could not previously have believed that existence could be supported. How could he hope to make religious impressions, or to exercise religious influence upon the soul, while the naked, shivering, starving body asks for fuel, food or clothing, as the greatest of blessings? He was obliged to become their teacher in domestic economy, to shew them how they might make, mend, and save; to point out the evils of intemperance and extravagance; to aid in the charge of their children, who, if left exclusively to their parents, would neither receive instruction in a school nor discipline at home. He had to prevent the young from growing up in ignorance, lawlessness, vagrancy, and crime. To the character of a religious teacher, he was compelled to add that of a domestic adviser, and experience shewed that his services in the latter capacity added immensely to the weight and influence of his instructions in the former.

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The greatest difficulty in the establishment of such an institution, is procuring men who will carry into the work of this ministry a deep feeling of respect for the actual rights and capacities of every individual mind he

meets. It may be asked what are the rights which belong to a condition of ignorance, and dependence, and degradation, and sin? And what is the respect which is due to him, who has no respect for himself? We reply, with Mr. Tuckerman, "that the capacities and rights of an immortal nature, of a being who must *account for himself* to God, and in whom the objects of the Gospel of Christ can only be effected by *his own free choice* of truth, and virtue, and duty, have the highest claims to respect, even in the most wayward and debased of our fellow-men."

It cannot be necessary to say more on the value and importance of such an institution: experience has proved its practicability; and a very brief visit to some of the most crowded haunts in this metropolis, and in the manufacturing districts, will suffice to prove its urgent necessity. How it may be best accommodated to the institutions existing in this country, or connected with them, we presume not to decide; but "where there is a will there is a way,"—let the spirit of proselytism be banished by the spirit of evangelism, and the religious instruction of the poor will no longer be a matter of difficulty.

Institutions for the relief of the aged, the infirm, and those afflicted by incurable diseases, though they do not so directly tend to the conservation of society as some of those which we have mentioned, must not be passed over without notice. It is a blessed thing that the blind, and the deaf and dumb, have been brought within the sphere of humanity, from which they had been excluded by their infirmities, and that the benevolence of science has enabled them to take their share

in the toils and responsibilities of human society. The moping idiot and the lunatic cannot perhaps be restored to intelligence, but they are preserved from injuring mankind in their paroxysms of disease, or afflicting humanity by the sad spectacle of their degradation. The recognition of the claim of the aged labourer to support, is a strong hold on the conduct of the able-bodied; for they will be reluctant to destroy the institutions of society, to the permanence of which they can alone look with hope under the pressure of unforeseen calamities. Benevolence may wisely extend its cares after death; it is wise that the obsequies of the poor should be performed with decency, and that their remains should rest in a spot to which feelings of reverence are attached. The outward signs that they have reached the spot "where the wicked cease from troubling, where the weary are at rest," though silent, read eloquent lessons to the living. There is a moral influence exerting a hallowed effect on the mind of the ignorant rustic, as he walks slowly and reverently over the ground where "the rude forefathers of his hamlet sleep." This is not superstition; it is a feeling implanted in our nature by the Author of our being, and like all the boons he has bestowed upon man, it can and does serve a holy and a useful purpose.

If we have rightly, even though feebly, examined the applications of benevolence, it must be obvious that these principles tend not merely to the conservation of society, but also to its extension and improvement. We must feel that every advancement in physical prosperity, renders a similar progress in intellectual and moral growth necessary to the continuance of social

happiness. The proportion between the varied elements of civilization must be preserved, and whenever the balance is deranged it must be skilfully re-adjusted : every element has its peculiar tendency to become exclusive and predominant ; but its exclusiveness ends in falsehood, and its domination in tyranny. Perils beset the paths of nations as well as individuals, and no less require the constant exercise of prudence, of foresight, and of intelligence. Difficulties for which no experience has prepared us must be expected to arise, for new elements must be developed in the social system during its period of growth and progress—a period which must endure, so long as this world continues a place of probation and not of perfection.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION.

BEFORE dismissing a subject which has grown upon us as we advanced, it may not be uninteresting to cast a retrospective glance at the ground we have traversed, and trace an outline of the road by which we have reached our conclusions. It appeared of importance to establish the unity of the human race; not as a speculative belief, but as a practical doctrine, enforcing the moral feeling of universal brotherhood, and teaching *each* to feel an interest in all. If to say "I am a Roman," in the darkness of Paganism, was felt to be an appeal to the hearts of a nation, the simple phrase "I am a man," should, in our glorious sunshine, awaken all the sympathies of humanity. We appealed to physiology, not to prove the unity of the species, but to shew that it exhibited no evidence which, on examination, would be received as contradictory of the fact. Our direct evidence was derived from a higher and nobler source—from man's moral nature—from his capabilities of improvement—from his being "noble in reason, infinite in faculty; in form and moving express and admirable, in action like an angel, in apprehension like a god!"

We shewed how this distinctive attribute of man displayed itself most remarkably in the very circumstances which seem most to elevate the dignity of

instinct in the animal creation. While we admired the architecture of the bee and the beaver, we saw that there was no variety in their works—no improvement in their skill. The same ingenuity which the bee of our garden displays in the structure of its cell, was equally exhibited by the earliest of its progenitors that sipped sweets from the flowers of Paradise. On the other hand, we have but to look around, and the evidences of human progression are before us. It requires no extraordinary stretch of intellect to appreciate the distances that mind must have advanced, before it had come from the tent and the hovel to the palace and the cathedral.

Having shewn that a capacity for improvement was the essential characteristic of man ; we then, from all the analogies which the universe affords, inferred that the natural state or condition of man must be that in which there are means and opportunities for the development of his improvable capacity. An extended examination of humanity in the savage and barbarous forms of life, convinced us that such a state, so far from developing and improving his intellectual and moral powers, blighted and destroyed both ; consequently we concluded that Society was the natural condition for which man, both by his physical conformation and his moral endowments, was predestined and predetermined. A being so moulded, formed, and gifted, would be as unnaturally posited in a desert or a forest, as an oyster on a mountain or a gazelle in the sea. When so placed, he degenerates, dwindles, and declines ; like exotic plants in our gardens, or foreign beasts in our menageries.

Having shewn, in this sense, the truth of the celebrated aphorism—that “Society existed before the individual,” we proceeded to establish the improbability, or rather the utter impossibility, of society having been constituted or framed by an individual or individuals. Such a theory involved the obvious contradiction that man had a knowledge of the benefits of society antecedent to all experience, because antecedent to the very existence of society. Since, then, a certain stock of knowledge, a certain amount of civilization, was as necessary to be provided for man in the outset, as food is for the insect when it breaks the egg in its proper nidus, and as man could not have derived this stock from his internal resources, we proceeded to search for that external cause which enabled humanity to employ its own treasures, use its own talents, and complete the development of its own faculties. We had not far to seek: we found that in the intellectual and moral, not less than in the physical and material world, “the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth;” and that Civilization like every other “good and perfect gift,” originally came down from “the Father of Lights, in whom there is no variableness nor shadow of turning.”

Then—*but not till then*—we examined how far the conclusions to which we had been led, by reasoning and analysis, were in accordance with the narrative of the early history of our race contained in the Holy Scriptures. We found reason and revelation in complete accordance; they perfectly harmonized together, and thus enforced conviction that both were derived from the same God. This was a matter too interesting to ourselves individually—too important to the world

generally—to be lightly dismissed. We therefore scrutinized the Sacred Records; taking care that the spirit of reverence should control, but not check, the spirit of criticism: and we proved, by experience, that the spirit of criticism thus directed, gave new life and strength to the spirit of reverence.

It was impossible to go over this wide field of investigation without becoming momentarily more convinced of the important truth, that every increase in national prosperity, wealth, or intelligence, is accompanied by a corresponding increase of national responsibilities, and by an equal increase of national dangers, when the duties to God and man which these responsibilities involve, are neglected or forgotten. The apostolic warning appeared not less applicable to nations than to individuals—"Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall." It appeared desirable to examine this truth by the test of experience; we have, therefore, compared it with the varied lights of history, and we have found that destiny never proved false to a nation, until the nation itself had proved false to its destiny. We saw everywhere that with nations, as with individuals, every deviation from the path of rectitude was a step on the road to ruin; every element of civilization perverted and misapplied, was changed into a potent means of destruction; and when once the process of corruption was begun, it proceeded, if unchecked, with an accelerated velocity, until iniquity consummated its work, and wrote its irrevocable *Ichabod* on mouldering fanes and ruined palaces.

It appeared from our researches, that injustice was equally fatal to a state, whether it was directed against

range of church-membership. There is one obvious advantage in an Established Church, it regards all the people as its children, and invites them freely to participate in its ordinances. In America, we find that similar generosity is exhibited by the Episcopalians, the Catholics, and the Unitarians, while the other sects refuse participation in their ordinances to those who are not admitted into the several societies by vote; and this principle of exclusiveness produces a very sad effect upon the public mind—it keeps alive a spirit of Pharisaic intolerance, and increases the number of those who “trusting in themselves that they are righteous, despise others.” The same evil in kind, though certainly not in degree, exists among ourselves; there are those who seem to think that the comprehensiveness of our Church is an evil, instead of being its greatest strength and its purest beauty.

Though far from believing that creeds and forms are matters of indifference, we may doubt whether proselytism to any particular sect or denomination should form any part of the application of religion to social improvement. What society wants, are the practical every-day virtues of justice, honesty, brotherly kindness, gentleness, candour, and truth; not the acquiescence of the intellect or the heart in any particular plan of salvation. A proselyting principle carried to excess works double evil; it fosters spiritual pride and confidence in a name on one side, it rouses suspicion and angry passion on the other. No small evil has been wrought in society by the confusion in common parlance between religion and religious profession or denomination; the error respecting the names has led to

error respecting the things. It has led many to suppose that it would be an impertinent interference to give religious instruction to those who do not belong to our own congregation, and the same error has led multitudes to reject such instruction when offered. A professed purpose of proselytism defeats its own ends by the hostility which it excites, and a concealed purpose of proselytism is as base and as dishonourable as any other form of hypocrisy. There is but one legitimate way of enlarging the religious community to which we belong, it is by manifesting the superior purity of our doctrines by our lives and conduct; let us be honest and upright, temperate and forbearing, kind-hearted and true; pure religion doth not "strive nor cry, neither shall any man hear its voice in the streets"—"it loveth not in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth." This is the religion wanting for the improvement of society—a religion of kindness and gentleness, and generosity and candour, and modesty and forbearance, and integrity and self-respect and mutual respect.

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Then—*but not till then*—we examined how far the conclusions to which we had been led, by reasoning and analysis, were in accordance with the narrative of the early history of our race contained in the Holy Scriptures. We found reason and revelation in complete accordance; they perfectly harmonized together, and thus enforced conviction that both were derived from the same God. This was a matter too interesting to ourselves individually—too important to the world

generally—to be lightly dismissed. We therefore scrutinized the Sacred Records; taking care that the spirit of reverence should control, but not check, the spirit of criticism: and we proved, by experience, that the spirit of criticism thus directed, gave new life and strength to the spirit of reverence.

It was impossible to go over this wide field of investigation without becoming momentarily more convinced of the important truth, that every increase in national prosperity, wealth, or intelligence, is accompanied by a corresponding increase of national responsibilities, and by an equal increase of national dangers, when the duties to God and man which these responsibilities involve, are neglected or forgotten. The apostolic warning appeared not less applicable to nations than to individuals—"Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall." It appeared desirable to examine this truth by the test of experience; we have, therefore, compared it with the varied lights of history, and we have found that destiny never proved false to a nation, until the nation itself had proved false to its destiny. We saw everywhere that with nations, as with individuals, every deviation from the path of rectitude was a step on the road to ruin; every element of civilization perverted and misapplied, was changed into a potent means of destruction; and when once the process of corruption was begun, it proceeded, if unchecked, with an accelerated velocity, until iniquity consummated its work, and wrote its irrevocable *Ichabod* on mouldering fanes and ruined palaces.

It appeared from our researches, that injustice was equally fatal to a state, whether it was directed against

a class of its own citizens, against colonists or tributaries, or foreign nations. As the things which were "written aforetime, were written for our learning," we have endeavoured to read and interpret the lesson—to gather from the past some guide and direction for the future. We have observed, that new elements, or at least new forms of civilization, are frequently developed around us; and we have seen that every such novelty must, in a greater or less degree, derange and disorganize the social machinery which was constructed for the state of society established before it came into existence. From this obvious tendency in society to outgrow its institutions, we inferred the necessity of governmental care, legislative vigilance, and the constant exercise of, what for want of a better word, we may call statesmanship. What would be thought of the mariner who, having got his vessel out to sea and turned her head in the right direction, should then bind fast the tiller-ropes and leave her to steer the rest of her course herself, careless of all the changes of tide and wind? It further appeared, that in many cases incident to society, neglect or delay is not less dangerous than prepense malice: there are occasions in which the country waits for the minister, and the minister waits for the country—but time waits for neither of them, and before they have settled how the good seed is to be sown, the ground is impregnated with the germs of a plentiful crop of weeds.

A very common error amongst those most anxious to promote the welfare of our common race, appeared in the course of our researches to be, the sacrifice of a practical and attainable good for the sake of some

theoretical perfection, some speculative nostrum, which its inventors believe will cure all the evils of humanity—past, present, and to come. History has given us many proofs, that while people were disputing about what was the *Summum Bonum* in theory, the *Summum Malum* prevailed in practice. Such a course was so ludicrously exemplified by a child some nights ago, that we may be pardoned for relating the anecdote. A boy, about three years old, noticed the moon probably for the first time, and jumped to the conclusion that it was a golden cake; he made it at once his *summum bonum*; he cried, and shouted and roared for his unattainable golden cake, and all the arts of coaxing and entreaty were used to pacify him in vain; confectioneries, in every variety, were offered and rejected with scorn; the urchin would have his golden cake, and he would have nothing else. The end was, that he went to bed crying and supperless. There are many people who pass for wise in this world, who do not act one whit more sensibly with their theories than the boy with his golden cake.

A few practical suggestions, which naturally presented themselves in the course of our investigations, have been offered for general consideration, not merely in a spirit of humility, but with shrinking timidity. At a time when the mind of the country is unfortunately partisan, every change, however slight, is more likely to be viewed in its political bearings than in its relation to the general welfare, and at such a time every assertion of neutrality affords fresh aliment for suspicion. It is equally our duty, neither to court nor to shrink from danger: we have not withheld what we deemed fair and legitimate deductions, but we have laboured

not to urge our conclusions offensively on those who entertain contrary opinions, trusting that the charity of forbearance may be granted even when that of forgiveness is withheld.

Such is a summary outline of the routes we have traversed; and the author approaches the conclusion of his task with feelings of regret, in which he cannot hope that the reader will participate. The theme itself, the investigations to which it led, and the researches which it demanded, afforded pleasures that far outweighed the expenditure of time and toil. But greater and purer delight was derived from the correspondence which some of the inquiries instituted rendered necessary. The assistance thus obtained has been acknowledged in the preface; but its value in another point of view can be very imperfectly described, and still more imperfectly appreciated. The readiness with which aid was afforded by persons of every sect, creed, and party, proves, that amid all our differences there is a unity of benevolence, and of Christian philanthropy in the hearts of all; there is an undying well-spring of love in British bosoms, which, though overborne for a time by the bitter streams of hatred, will yet attain the mastery, even as those fountains which sometimes gush over a mineral vein, finally wear down their way to the primitive rock, and exchange then their turbid streams for limpid purity.

It is a lesson to those who wish to benefit their country, but shrink timorously from the task, to know that in every one of their honourable exertions they are sure to find sympathizing associates. Every one who undertakes the task will be astonished to find how vast

are the unworked mines of goodness which exist in human nature. It may almost be said, that we only hate those whom we do not know. Could hostile parties see the secrets of each other's souls, their mutual rage would soon be exchanged for mutual respect and mutual estimation. Misanthropists have averred, that the "window in the breast" would set the world by the ears; but every day's experience proves, that the more men know of each other, the more they are disposed to live in peace, unity, and concord.

The author has said that he sends these volumes to the world with some lurking sensations of fear, not so much for himself as for the principles he has endeavoured to establish, lest they should be injured by feeble advocacy: let him add, however, that this fear does not check the aspirations of hope; he feels strong confidence, that every thing which directs public attention to the existing conditions of society, has an immediate tendency to suggest the correction of social evil, and the advancement of social good. Impressed with this belief, he joins from his heart in the wish and anticipation of Hope's own bard,—

Come, bright Improvement! on the car of Time,
And rule the spacious world from clime to clime;
Thy handmaid arts shall every wild explore,
Trace every wave, and culture every shore.

FINIS.

LONDON :

Printed by Manning and Mason, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.







